Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-231
Friday
30 November 1990

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FBIS-EEU-90-231 *30 November 1990*

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5 Nations Become North Atlantic Assembly Members

LD2911183890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Istvan Kulcsar report from London; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] The autumn session of the North Atlantic Assembly has completed its work; only a roundtable meeting remains for tomorrow. Participants in the conference, which is being held at the Elizabeth II Conference Center in London, decided this afternoon to accept Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union as associate members. Members of the delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly, led by Deputy Speaker Alajos Dornbach, have so far only participated in the work of the North Atlantic Assembly as observers.

The North Atlantic Assembly consists of representatives of parliaments of NATO countries, but it is not a NATO organ and not an intergovernmental institution. It is an interparliamentary consulting body, the decisions of which are not obligatory for NATO. [passage omitted]

Hungary's Antall Meets Spanish, Swiss Leaders

LD2111154590 Budapest MTI in English 1037 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest [place-name as received], November 20 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall held bilateral talks with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Swiss President Arnold Koller in Paris on Tuesday [20 November] afternoon.

The Spanish premier informed his Hungarian counterpart in detail of the political and economic transformation that followed the toppled dictatorship in Spain, and the lengthy process of joining the European Communities, with the express desire that Hungary should gain from Spanish experience. Felipe Gonzalez emphasized the Spanish companies' interest in investing in Hungary, and termed it important for the Hungarians to win and keep the confidence of foreign capital.

The Swiss president said that his country and the West in general had a vested interest in supporting the countries struggle with the hardships of transformation since that way they could avoid subsequent adverse effects, such as the influx of "economic refugees". Antall emphasized that the Swiss were the fourth largest investors in Hungary and called upon the Swiss firms to show similar interest in Hungary's economic transformation.

Romania's Nastase Addresses Paris Roundtable

AU2211193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest [place-name as received] ROMPRES 22/11/1990—The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase met on 21 November with Mr. Thierry de Montbrial, director of the French Institution of International Relations, at the Paris headquarters of that prestigious institution of research in international questions, reads a press release of the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry. A round table followed during which Adrian Nastase spoke at length about the significance of the December revolution and of the deep-going transformations occurred in the Romanian society over the past eleven months answering numerous questions on the characteristics of the Romanian revolution, the 13-15 June events, the stage of the drafting of the report of the parliamentary commission inquiring into those events, the main elements of the economic reform, the social and economic effects of price liberalisation, the situation of the Hungarian ethnic minority, the re-emergence of the Communist Party under a different name and others.

Surveying the results of the CSCE summit in Paris, the Romanian minister also referred to the importance of the documents adopted which opened a new chapter in the history of the relations among the states of the continent and underlined the guidelines of the Romanian foreign policy, Romania's actions in the direction of developing cooperation with the main European bodies, the Common Market and the Council of Europe included.

The interviews and talks occasioned by the round table conference evinced the attention with which developments in Romania are followed in France, the importance of expanding the cooperation between the Romanian and French researchers on international issues.

Alia Addresses Elbasan Meeting on 28-29 Nov

AU2911161690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly went to Elbasan yesterday to celebrate the November holidays with the working people of that city. The solemn meeting organized at the Scampa Theater on the occasion of the November 28- 29 festivities, was attended by vanguard workers, heroes of the people and socialist labor, veterans, deputies and councillors, relatives of war martyrs, servicemen, and young people.

Those present greeted Comrade Ramiz Alia's entrance with applause. The speech on the occasion was made by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Sulejman Pepa.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said, among other things that, while commemorating significant historic events, such as the 28-29 November celebrations, we recall their protagonists. We commemorate those outstanding patriotic fighters who, led by Ismail Qemali, proclaimed Albania an independent state. We commemorate those glorious sons and daughters who, through the National Liberation War, with the party and Enver Hoxha at the head, returned to the people the freedom that had been grabbed from them. In commemorating the historic past, we see it as being closely linked with the present. Albania's current developments spring from its distinguished traditions. The commemoration of such distinguished events serves us because we draw lessons from them.

Speaking about the possibilities for faster rates of development, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that our country's prospects are based on strong foundations cemented with the blood and sweat of the people. That is why we believe that we have great opportunities to march forward, to make the country prosperous, and to fully build the kind of society about which the people were dreaming during the war—a socialist society. The commemoration of 28-29 November serves to promote the patriotic spirit of all the working people. We must strengthen the country in a well-rounded manner, helping to accelerate the economy's and the national culture's rate of development. This requires hard work by everyone.

The party is working and acting to promote and deepen democracy in every aspect of the country's life. Our people must understand the essence of this struggle. It is dictated by the need for the country's progress. The deepening of the democratic process has been prepared through the struggle waged by the party and the people.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about some of the country's economic problems. It is a reality, he said, that the country is currently going through considerable difficulties. The 12th party Central Committee plenum stressed that the economy is at the limit of a state of emergency. Maximum efforts are needed to overcome this situation; however, our party is confident about the future.

Comrade Ramiz pointed out that the current difficulties are not related to the nature of the road that we are pursuing. Under socialism, he stated, Albania emerged from a terrible backwardness inherited from history. We are lagging behind the more developed countries in certain aspects, but this is not because of the nature of the socialism that we are building. The socialist order has enabled us to resolve fundamental problems and to be prepared to resolve new problems. The party has worked out an entire program of a profound democratic nature. He went on to say that we cannot build the future without taking the present state of affairs into consideration. As a result of the prolonged drought alone, we have lost assets which, calculated in foreign currency, exceed over one-third of the country's annual exports. I am telling you this, he went on to say, so that we may be realistic in our present and future assessments. Our party has confidence in the people and is not afraid of [words indistinct].

Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the party's intention and struggle to ensure that the life of the people, the development of the country's political life, and all aspects of its activity are at the level of advanced international standards. We, he stressed, have all the possibilities to achieve these aims. Our country has assets that enable it to surmount all possible difficulties that may affect its economy. Our people must work in such a way that they do everything in their power [words indistinct]. Their economic activity, the development of foreign business, and the implementation of the new economic mechanism open up sound prospects [words indistinct].

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz said: The party's concern is the same as the people's concern. The road that we have chosen guarantees the country's freedom against all dangers. It is on this road that our people must work and struggle with all their determination, with all their patriotic spirit. Let us march, as always, side by side together. Let us never tire of working for the cause of the people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was listened to attentively and was greeted with applause.

Democratic Front Holds Preelection Meeting

AU2811134790 Tirana ATA in English 1106 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 28 (ATA)—The Presidency of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania convened on November 26 before noon. It discussed on the tasks of the Democratic Front organization during the election campaign and the possible candidates for deputies to the People's Assembly, the Democratic Front will forward in this campaign. Comrade Nexhmije

Hoxha, chairwoman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania spoke of the pecularity of the election campaign for deputies to the People's Assembly.

The 12th plenum of the party Central Committee, she said in her speech, is an event of great historic importance in the whole life of the country. The report submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia at this meeting is a great working program for the party and people, the state and society. It opens fresh vistas to their work to promote the great process of the democratization taking place in our country. Of special importance are the ideas of the plenum regarding the political social organizations. Their turning into complete pluralist subjects ,which was reflected through the new law endorsed by the 8th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly, creates the conditions for them to air their views, but also to defend the interests of the masses they represent in all the power organs, down to the People's Assembly.

The plenum, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said further on, gave orientations on the changes that should be made to the fundamental law of the state, the Constitution, so as to better respond to the mesures adopted for the democratization of the country's life, civic rights of citizens, including those of religious faith, reform in economy and integration of our country in the European process.

The Democratic Front, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said, fully supports the orientations and decisions of the 12th plenum of the party Central Committee and the speech Comrade Ramiz Alia submitted to this plenum. Our organization promises that it will work with might and main to perform as well as possible its role as independent political social subject in strengthening the people's unity, the people's power and the socioeconomic socialist order.

Speaking of the new relations of the party with the Front, she said that the Front has recognized and accepted the leading role of the party. But the Democratic Front has its own personality and individuality. As an organization of the broad masses of the people, the Front enjoys great possibilities to become a tribune of the voice of the masses, the pluralism of their views, defender of their legitimate rights.

Currently, said Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the front organization is faced with a great undertaking, the election campaign for deputies to the People's Assembly. The new law endorsed by the recent session of the assembly, is is essence a great reform in the electoral system in our country. The Democratic Front should closely collaborate with all the subjects taking part in the electoral campaign so as all together conduct it in compliance with the law. Likewise the front should also strive to propagate its candidates so that they together ensure their election by the people. It is important that the Albanian people see to these elections united round the ideals of the freedom and independence of the homeland, the people's power and socialism.

The meeting discussed on the procedure of declaring the candidates of the Democratic Front for deputies. They will be defined after a broad consultation with the masses, because it is the masses who will vote for them.

Government Holds Meeting; Halili Speaks

AU2911141290 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—On occasion of November 28-29 festivities, the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania] and Tirana District party committee organized a solemn meeting in the Opera and Ballet Theater hall on November 28, afternoon.

Attending were also Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Comrades Foto Cami, Kico Mustaqi, Besnik Bekteshi, Hekuran Isai, Simon Stefani, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali; the secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Abdyl Backa; the member of the party Central Committee and chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA, Nexhmije Hoxha; the vice-chairmen of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu; the chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, Shefqet Peci; the members of the party Central Committee, Manush Myftiu, Pilo Peristeri, Spiro Koleka, Haki Toska, and Prokop Murra; members of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and government.

The meeting was declared open by Comrade Llambi Gegprifti.

The speech on the occasion was made by the member of the party Central Committee and minister of justice, Enver Halili.

On these days, he said among the other things, we recall with special veneration and pride the heroic struggles of our people for freedom and independence, the vigorous efforts for progress, social justice, and democracy, for maintaining their language and noble customs, their national identity.

On such festivals, he said further on, we recall with special veneration our great patriots of the Renaissance, the outstanding patriot and diplomat, the hero of the people, Ismail Qemali, and all his brave and resolute fellow fighters.

The century-long traditions for national freedom, independence, and progress, were further enriched and promoted by the communists and our people in the greatest epopee of their history, the Antifascist National Liberation War. In this struggle, organized and led with

wisdom and sure hand by the party and our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, our people attained the highest scale of their organization and political consciousness.

After pointing to the rare qualities and virtues characterizing the Albanian people through centuries, which were raised high in the battles of partisan struggle and were inherited by the younger generations to the good of the people and socialism, Comrade Enver Halili spoke on the great transformations that have taken place in all the fields of life under these 46 years of the free life.

Our entire society, he said further on, is undergoing a profound and all-sided process of democratization. This process, which is wisely led by the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, is real and irreversible. It is a natural program, which suits the dialectic and non-stop transformation of our society, an objective request of its development.

The important decisions adopted by the 12th plenum of the party Central Committee, the decrees endorsed by the People's Assembly, the further improvement of legislation, the measures for the development of our economy through the new economic mechanism, for the improvement of the political system, the protection and broadening of democratic freedoms and rights of the citizens, as well as for the further development of the relations of cooperation with abroad, have been welcomed by the entire people, have created conditions for the outburst of creative energies, have further enhanced the confidence in the future.

The party has been and remains guide for all the historical transformations and achievements of our people. It has ensured its leading role not through decrees and laws, but through the lofty ideals it represents, through selfless work and struggle, through its loyalty to the interests of the people, homeland, and socialism.

Our party has always consulted the people, it has striven to withdraw their views and has solved the tasks together with it. But the measures adopted at present to turn the social organizations in which all the strata of the population take part, into full pluralist subjects, will bring about new transformations and improvements, and will enhance the role of these organizations. This testifies to the care taken of the mass organizations and the tolerance and emancipation of the party itself to treat them as equal partners and fully skillful and decent to enter into debate and decide upon different problems of the life of the country.

Having spoken on the all-sided democratization of the life of the country and the application of the new economic mechanism, to be applied on January 1, 1991 in all the economic enterprises of the country, he dwelt on the foreign policy of our party and state, which, as he said, is an active policy which ensures not only the defense of the victories and further progress of the homeland, but also plays a positive role in international developments. The unanimous support of the masses of the people for this policy is a great encouragement and inspiration to forge ahead.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania persistently pursues in the international field a policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation with other countries. It has hailed and hails the European and international positive processes and will carry on striving to render its modest contribution together with the other European peoples to the security and fruitful cooperation in all the forms and roads set by time.

Albania always attaches a special importance to the strengthening of cooperation in our region. It is very much interested in the strengthening of peace and stability in the Balkans. In general, Albania cooperation on the regional scale as an integral part of the European processes and is involved in implementing the principles of the fundamental documents of the CSCE.

In the future, too, our country will exert all its efforts to strengthen the relations of good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation with other states. It is for the further democratization of international relations and the solution of problems through political constructive dialogue, on the basis of understanding and cooperation.

In conclusion he said:
The accumulated experience and the successes attained under the 45 years of free life, the correct line and the wise leadership of the party, strengthen our confidence in the future and inspire us to march always forward.

National Day Editorial Stresses Democratic Future

AU2811101290 Tirana ATA in English 0942 GMT 28 Nov 90

["Freedom and Independence—Foundations of Democracy—Editorial of the Newspaper 'ZERI I POPULLIT'"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 28 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries an editorial which says among the other things:

The entire Albanian people commemorate today November 28-29 festivities, these marked festivities, the independence and freedom of the homeland. November 28-29, two climax points in our history, make up an indivisible binom [as received], the fundamental conclusion of the national movement and the National Liberation War, which guaranteed the independence and freedom of Albania, the road to progress and development. The Albanians, wherever they are, honour today with a profound gratitude the immortal deed of the great old man Ismail Qemali and of all the other patriots, who performed an unprecedented act: they proclaimed the independence of Albania in Vlore on November 28, 1912. November 29, that comes right after it, represents an event of double historic importance. November 29, 1944 guaranteed to the Albanian people their genuine freedom

and independence, its modern state and national sovereignty, paved the road to development and progress.

This social and national liberation was attained through countless sacrifices, through a difficult road. It was the Albanian Communists and the Communist Party of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, today the PLA [Albanian Workers Party], the inspirers, organizers and brave and unbent leaders who would lead the people to national and social freedom. In the course of history our people have been democratic, noble, and a generous people, the editorial continues. It has hated the oppressive dictatorships and regimes. When they created their first modern state and voted for the first government which emerged on their own will, they pinned great hopes on them for freedom and democracy, human rights.

Our people's power and the party of labour who lead the process of the country's socialist development, realised within a few years a great leap in all the fields. Under this process the economy, education, culture changed whereas the state and party accumulated their own experience and their tradition in organization and running. The political system of the country kept improving, the rights of citizens, their freedoms kept augmenting.

At present our country is undergoing a stage of all-sided rejuvenation in economy, politics, social life. This process of democratization, which was initiated by the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, has swept over the base and superstructure of the society. The progress of the country in all the fields, economy, culture, education is also the progress and strengthening of freedom and national independence. At the same time a powerful economy, a high culture means greater rights and freedoms of the individual, of men. Likewise Albania's integration in the contemporary European developments, in the processes of democratization, under these circumstances, will contribute to the freedom and independence of the homeland. Of special importance is in this direction cooperation in the economic field. The Albanian people commemorate the 78th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and the 46th anniversary of the liberation of their country, the editorial writes in conclusion, with firm confidence in the more democratic future.

Alia Sends Greetings on SFRY National Day

AU2911140290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Comrade Ramis Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Borislav Jovic, chairman of the Presidency of the SFRY:

On the occasion of the national day of the SFRY, in the name of the Albanian people and personally, I convey to you and the peoples of the SFRY greetings and best wishes for progress and prosperity. May the relations of good-neighborliness between Albania and Yugoslavia develop further for the benefit of our peoples, peace, and cooperation in our region.

Economic Delegation Departs for Italy 27 Nov

AU2911180690 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—A government economic delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, which will conduct talks on the first session of the Joint Commission of the Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation, left for the Italian Republic today.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by the minister of foodstuff industry, Ylli Bufi; the vice-minister of foreign trade, Altin Ylli, and others. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Giorgio de Andreis.

Prime Minister Lukanov Officially Resigns Post

Resignation Speech Delivered

AU2911200090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1847 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov, upon submitting his resignation as prime minister, in Sofia—live]

[Text] Dear compatriots, on 1 November of this year, in my statement at the Grand National Assembly, in connection with presenting the government's program on further democratization in the country and accelerating economic reform, I stressed that this program could be implemented only if it is supported by the parliament and the entire society. I also stressed that stabilizing the economy and the domestic market, overcoming the economic crisis, and receiving efficient international assistance depend on consistently applying the radical economic measures proposed in the program.

Unfortunately, the government did not receive the anticipated support. Furthermore, recent activities of certain parliamentary and public forces and the basic trade unions created an atmosphere in the country in which the further implementation of the program and the government's timetable for the first steps of the economic reform became impossible.

Under these conditions, I have concluded that remaining chairman of the Council of Ministers is useless, and in accordance with the statement I made in the parliament, I withdraw from this post. I came to this decision while also noting the agreements reached at the meeting of the Political Consultative Council, which took place today at the Presidency. This meeting took place in a constructive spirit and facilitated an agreement among the political parties and organizations on forming as soon as possible a national government of peaceful transition, as well as on signing a political accord, which will guarantee the stability of our society, the freedoms of all citizens, and their security and basic rights.

The forming of such a government and the signing of the agreement between the political forces presuppose the resignation of the cabinet headed by me.

The Bulgarian public knows well that during the period following the elections, despite the majority in the parliament achieved by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], I have always advocated the necessity of forming a national government, which is the only factor that could generate sufficient parliamentary and public support for the profound political and economic reforms it must conduct. My opinion about the limited possibilities of a single-party government under conditions of sharp sociopolitical polarization and increasing social tension also is well known. I again stressed this in my statement on Bulgarian Television on 25 November 1990, when I supported the idea of political consultations through which a formula of forming a new government must be sought.

I accept with satisfaction the agreement reached today, because it corresponds to my views on overcoming the present political crisis. With my resignation from the post of prime minister I would like to facilitate the implementation of this agreement and cooperate, as much as I can, in abating sociopolitical tension and creating favorable preconditions for the work of the new government.

I deem it important to point out on the basis of the experience of the old government, that the new government can hope for success only if it receives the clear and consistent support of the basic parliamentary forces, the parties and public organizations outside the parliament, and all people.

We face difficult trials. We must implement painful but vitally necessary changes in our society under unfavorable international conditions. This requires the unity of the nation. Only a nation prepared to make efforts, a nation that knows how to work and wants to work, a nation ready to suffer difficulties can hope for success in the transition toward real democracy and a dynamic market economy. It would be a fatal mistake to stop or even delay the economic reform. This would inevitably lead to a paralysis of the economy and decrease the chances of international assistance, without which the transition to a market economy is impossible.

Withdrawing from the post of leader of the government I would like to cordially thank all those—there are hundreds of thousands—who during those days and weeks confirmed their support for and confidence in the government. I ask them to not assess this withdrawal as a retreat from the duty I assumed. I declared that for our young democracy it is vitally important to conduct governmental changes in a civilized parliamentary way, rather than under the influence of extraparliamentary pressure. I think that I remained loyal to this statement.

In recent days and weeks, the government has demonstrated that it does not retreat in the face of blackmail, insinuations, and illegal activities. The agreement of the political forces ensures conditions for a normal governmental change. This change is useful and necessary for Bulgaria.

For my part, as much as my strength and knowledge allow me, I am prepared to serve the people, because their interests have been until now and will remain in the future the only essence of my activity as a public figure and citizen.

Thank you for your attention.

Says Change Is 'Useful,' 'Necessary'

AU2911193890 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, prime minister of Bulgaria, has handed in his resignation.

He made a statement saying that by their actions certain parliamentary and public forces, including the major trade union organisations, are creating a situation in which the government cannot fulfil its programme. "For me, it is therefore pointless to remain at the prime minister's post, and in keeping with the statement made in parliament I resign my office," Mr. Andrey Lukanov said.

Mr. Lukanov took this decision after he took into account the accords reached by the political forces.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov emphasized that the agreement reached on a national government of the peaceful transition headed by a prime minister who belongs to neither of the two major parliamentary forces is consistent with his views about a way out of the political crisis. At the same time, he asserted that he had kept his pledge not to resign under extra-parliamentary pressure.

The agreement between the political forces secures conditions for a normal change of government. This change is useful and necessary for Bulgaria, Mr. Andrey Lukanov said.

Meets With Press Following Speech

AU2911204790 Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—"I will not abandon my political career," Mr. Andrey Lukanov said a minute after he read his resignation. "I am a BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] MP, I value my qualities and I respect my constituents," he told journalists in parliament.

Asked whether he expected parliament to accept his resignation by a majority, Mr. Lukanov said that the BSP itself was divided over his resignation.

He declined to say who will succeed him in the prime minister's post. "There will be few volunteers," he said.

After his statement, Mr. Lukanov retired for a conversation with Mr. Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

"Anarchy must be avoided," Mr. Lukanov stressed, talking to the press. This depends on the political deal between the major parliamentary forces and on the agreement on the composition of the new cabinet. "For the time being, we called it 'national government of the peaceful transition,'" Mr. Lukanov said, describing the new cabinet as a strong and authoritative government "consisting of people inspiring respect, irrespective of whether they consider themselves politicians or experts," Mr. Lukanov said.

Asked whether he sees any people who could form this "team of the like-minded," Mr. Lukanov answered in the affirmative. "Consider the economy: For all those shows staged in parliament, many of the BSP and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] economists share the same views," Mr. Lukanov said. At this stage, he himself had no substantial differences with Mr. Ivan Kostov, SDS MP and economic expert and his most serious critic.

Worried of Possible BSP Reaction

AU2911213890 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Lukanov finds that whatever program the government after him will adopt, it will not be sensible if it does not contain the principal elements of his own program.

What happened to the socialist idea in the Soviet Union, in the former socialist countries, why did the model fail and what was its fatal flaw: Mr. Lukanov will consider these matters when he retires from politics. Politics "or rather the political manners which now take hold in Bulgaria" disgust him.

"I remain a Socialist, genetically and from conviction," Mr. Lukanov stressed. "I will continue to hold dear the socialist idea."

Mr. Lukanov is openly concerned about the reactions to his resignation by members and supporters of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]: "They may see this decision as wrong." "Still, I will do everything possible to convince them that what I did will be not only in the best interests of Bulgarian society but of the Socialist Party itself," he said. He added that this way of thinking is a must for the other political forces as well. "If they keep thinking like those who shout outside, a confrontation will be inevitable, for the BSP is not a party which can be uprooted from Bulgarian soil or which can surrender," Mr. Lukanov said.

He believes that what is happening in Sofia now should not be overestimated. "It is not typical of the entire country and it is not the reason why I resigned," Mr. Lukanov emphasized. He identified the true reason as his conviction that the one-party track should be abandoned.

The people besieging the National Assembly building rejoiced noisily when the premier's pre-recorded statement was broadcast on national radio and television. There were even fireworks displays.

The first thing which the just resigned prime minister intends to do is to take a five-day leave. "I want to sleep my fill," he said smiling. "For two years I have not taken any leave."

Politicians React to Resignation

AU2911203290 Sofia BTA in English 1944 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—"Mr. Lukanov resigns in the convenient position of a future serious critic": This is one of the first reactions to the resignation which the prime minister handed in this evening.

The opinion was aired by Mr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. He believes that the opposition has rushed Mr. Lukanov's fall. He should have been left to start the reform. "He should have stayed on for at least one more month. In this way we give him a chance to assume the convenient posture of a critic," Dr. Dertliev said. He expressed the same view a week ago in the Social Democrats' daily "SVOBODEN NAROD" and at the major opposition rally on November 18.

The adviser to the president Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev MP of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] believes that after his resignation Mr. Lukanov will have a chance to consolidate his positions at the top of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. He can make a comeback in other top positions in the state leadership, Mr. Ludzhev believes. He is a great political personality at this point, Mr. Ludzhev said at 6 pm this evening.

Press Reacts; Heralds Change

AU3011093690 Sofia BTA in English 0817 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The resignation of the Socialist prime minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, which he announced last night in a radio and television broadcast, is the leading story in all dailies.

"Socialist Theatre Curtain Falls: Farewell, Lukanov" and "Last Communist Cabinet Falls" are the headlines of the news in "SVOBODEN NAROD" and "DEMOKRATSIYA". "The line of communist prime ministers of Bulgaria is interrupted today. In itself, this is a historic step," says Mr. Petur Beron, leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), in an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA." Under the heading "Lukanov Goes, Chaos Remains" the same paper brings a roundup of international reaction to developments in Bulgaria. The opposition press quotes the opinion of many key opposition figures and members of the public about the resignation.

"DUMA" carries without comment the full text of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's resignation announcement.

"ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME" assesses the resignation as a triumph of sound reason.

"TRUD" believes that "at long last a realistic opportunity opens up to tackle seriously our plight and to start getting out of the quagmire."

National Assembly Accepts Lukanov's Resignation

AU3011101690 Sofia BTA in English 0957 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly today accepted the resignation which Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov announced on national television last night.

Only 43 MP's, all of them from the Socialist Party, voted against and 16 abstained.

The Lukanov cabinet will continue its functions until the formation of the new government which, as agreed by the political forces, will be called a "national government of the peaceful transition to democracy."

"If the chance did not open yesterday for a deal between the political forces, Andrey Lukanov would not have resigned his post," Mr. Lukanov told parliament. He called the agreement a chance for Bulgaria "which, if missed, may prove the last one."

President Zhelev: Assembly Should Dissolve by May

AU3011090590 Sofia BTA in English 0840 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly should stay in business until March 1991, after which it should dissolve itself and new elections should be set for May. The president of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev tells "TRUD" about this stand taken at yesterday's meeting of the Political Consultative Council.

In his view, there is a chance to pass the major laws until the end of the year and to adopt the new constitution by March next year.

Parties Said Agreed on May Elections

AU3011134690 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Following the resignation of Prime Minister Lukanov's Socialist government, new elections will probably be held next May. This was announced by President Zhelev in the trade union newspaper TRUD today. According to him, Bulgaria's strongest political forces have agreed on this. At the moment, the Socialists, who emerged from the former Communist Party, have the absolute majority in parliament.

After days of mass protests and mass strikes Prime Minister Lukanov resigned yesterday. It is not yet certain whether any representatives of the opposition will join a new cabinet.

Podkrepa TU Spokesman Cancels General Strike

AU2911202990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1843 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Announcement by unidentified Podkrepa Labor Confederation spokesman in Sofia—live]

[Text] The prime minister has just made a statement in which he himself resigned from his post and, at the same time, submitted the government's resignation. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation thanks all those who took part in the strike actions—according to the Council of Ministers, 40,000; and according to us, 1.029 million—who went on strike in Bulgaria's first manifestation of workers' solidarity, the first national general strike in Bulgaria's history.

We thank all of you 40,000 or 1.029 million people who took part. We accept the government's resignation with relief.

In the name of the national strike committee, and being confident that tomorrow's session of the Grand National Assembly will deal with accepting this resignation, I have been authorized to call upon you to end the strike throughout the country. I wish all of you pleasant work tomorrow. God save Bulgaria!

Tries To Calm Crowds in Sofia

AU2911194490 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—According to representatives of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, more than 1,270,000 people were on strike in Bulgaria today. Mr. Petur Ganchev, the chief secretary of Podkrepa, told the press that the strike action has spread to vital economic projects: the Burgas Petrochemical Works, the Black Sea ports, the Kremikovtsi Iron and Steel Works, the Maritsa Iztok power stations, and this poses a real threat for an economic collapse. "Podkrepa does not seek that," he went on to say.

Tensions have culminated in the capital city after 6 pm, when the premier was expected to resign. A large number of people is trying to enter the Presidency, believing that Mr. Lukanov is inside. The Podkrepa Trade Union sent loudspeaker cars to calm down the multitude.

The Podkrepa officials distanced themselves from the blocking of street traffic.

Mr. Petur Ganchev assured the press that if the government resigns, the strike will be called off and no further strike demands will be raised.

It was reported that trade unions and parties abroad have cabled support for the strike.

Radio Strike Ends; Demand Fulfilled

AU2911204290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] In connection with the announcement of the Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, the Podkrepa Radio Association ends the strike of Bulgarian Radio. The basic demand of the striking employees—the resignation of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and his cabinet—was fulfilled.

We thank all those who supported us for their solidarity and support.

Independent TU Group Vows To Continue Strike

AU3011083590 Sofia BTA in English 0821 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria carries on its strike action despite last night's resignation of Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

The Executive Committee of the Confederation has issued a declaration in this connection pointing out that the resignation meets only part of the strike demands. That is why the independent trade unions will continue their strike action until the other part of their demands are met, too: guarantees of the character of the new government and of it being a really working government, a guaranteed working schedule for the Grand National Assembly, and an adequate legal framework for the economic reform and the crisis management programmes.

The declaration regrets that the Podkrepa Labour Confederation has declined the suggestion for joint action of the two trade union organisations.

Originally the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions opposed the strike action and launched a sign-in for a dissolution of the Grand National Assembly. Later on, however, it joined the strike organised by Podkrepa.

Rumors of Government Planes Leaving Denied

AU2911203490 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Kosyo Bakalov, commander of Unit 28, the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines unit serving the Presidency and the government, denied to the BTA the allegations about "attempted takeoffs of aircraft from the unit" today.

"Flights have not been planned or prepared for today and in the coming days," Mr. Bakalov told the BTA at Sofia Airport where the three aircraft and the helicopter comprising the unit are stationed.

He described as misunderstanding the reports about attempted takeoffs of Unit 28 aircraft. The misunderstanding probably arose due to the takeoff this morning

of an airplane operated by the Bulgarian Airline Air Via, whose aircraft are stationed in immediate proximity to the government ones, Mr. Bakalov believes.

The Air Via craft No. VIM 125 took off at 10 am today and flew to Okhrid, Yugoslavia. It arrived there, took on board 162 passengers: Yugoslav and other foreign nationals, and at noon flew them to Malta under a two-month-old contract between Air Via and the Pelikan Yugoslav Travel Agency, BTA learnt from Air Via sources. [passage omitted]

Balkan Airlines Ends Strike, Resumes Flights

AU2911213490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The Balkan Civil Aviation Companies informs its customers that it will resume its regular domestic and international flights at 0000 on 30 November [2200 GMT 29 November], i.e., in one hour. [passage omitted]

Announcement of Political Forces Agreement

AU2911193690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1843 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Announcement from the Political Consultative Council and representatives of all political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] A meeting of the Political Consultative Council, convened at the initiative of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Republic, took place on 29 November. Representatives of all political forces in the Grand National Assembly took part in the meeting. The following persons participated: Aleksandur Yordanov, Aleksandur Karakachanov, Aleksandur Lilov, Akhmed Dogan, Boris Tyurkchiev, Viktor Vulkov, Georgi Avramov, Georgi Spasov, Ginyo Ganev, Dimitur Arnaudov, Dimitur Batalov, Dimitur Ludzhev, Krum Nevrokopski, Lyubomir Ivanov, Milan Drenchev, Petko Simeonov, Petur Beron, Petur Dertliev, Stefan Savov, Stoyan Ganev, Khristofor Subev, Chavdar Kyuranov, and Yashar Saban.

The meeting also was attended by Atanas Semerdzhiev, deputy chairman of the Republic, and Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The meeting was opened by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who described the political situation as exceptionally complex and tense. He underlined that a solution to the political crisis must be sought by the joint efforts of the parliament and the political forces, and at the same time the issue of forming the new government must be resolved.

The chairman of the Republic outlined the basic elements that the political agreement, prepared by the political forces, must contain.

The participants in the meeting expressed their agreement with the assessments and proposals of the chairman of the Republic. They stressed the personal qualities of Andrey Lukanov as prime minister, and pointed out that regardless of his efforts, under the conditions that emerged the government is not able to fully implement its duties.

Views were expressed about overcoming the political crisis. A general opinion was expressed that an immediate governmental change is necessary and a new national government of peaceful transition to democracy is in order. This government must implement its tasks with the support of the political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly.

As a result of the meeting the trends of a political agreement emerged. The agreement must be prepared and signed without delay by the political forces. It must contain clear and specific measures on resolving the acute political problems related to the responsibility for the crisis, the status of and guarantees for the activity of the political parties and their members, about the fact that nobody should be persecuted because of his political beliefs, about ensuring and protecting the rights of the ethnic groups in various regions within a comprehensive solution of the ethnic issue, about resolving urgent tasks in the area of labor legislation and social security, and so forth. Special importance was attributed to the further work of the Grand National Assembly, according to an updated legislative timetable, and by giving priority to the laws on agricultural land, the administrative-territorial settlement and the organs of local government, privatization, and on preparing and adopting a new constitution.

The participants in the meeting supported the appeal of the chairman of the Republic to prevent disorder in the streets and observe the laws, public order, and the citizens' rights and freedoms.

Government, Party Officials Comment

AU2911184090 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—It is hardly likely that the political forces agreement on the formula of the new government after the expected resignation of Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov will be entirely ready this evening, the presidential adviser Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev MP of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the SDS leader Mr. Petur Beron and the SDS spokesman Mr. Stoyan Ganev told the BTA.

In all likelihood, however, the participants in the consultations will agree on key points which will move ahead the negotiations between the political forces.

The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS have eight representatives each in the crucial consultations on the deal. The opposition is represented by Mr. Stoyan Ganev, Mr. Petur Kornazhev, Mr. Stefan Savov and Mr.

Dimitur Ludzhev. The only BSP representative which the BTA has been able to identify so far is Mr. Georgi Pirinski.

Mr. Ludzhev told the press that president of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev played a decisive role in these consultations.

Asked about the composition of the new cabinet, both Mr. Petur Beron and Mr. Stoyan Ganev declined to name names, although according to several SDS sources, in the afternoon today the SDS discussed precisely nominations for ministerial portfolios. Mr. Stoyan Ganev did not deny but did not confirm, either, the allegation that has gained currency in the last few hours that Mr. Ginyo Ganev, now deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, is a possible candidate for the prime ministership. "It is not yet realistic to talk about names," said Mr. Stoyan Ganev, who took part in the consultations between the political forces. Mr. Ganev described the new government as a "caretaker cabinet in terms of the functions which it will perform."

Mr. Beron himself told the BTA that his nomination for the prime ministership had been reaffirmed by the SDS Coordinating Council "because I am member of no party," he specified. If he gets the job, Mr. Beron will resign his leading posts in the opposition.

The SDS believes that the new cabinet should be strong one, "should worthily represent the country and should be acceptable to all political forces and work together with them," Mr. Beron told the BTA minutes after the SDS Coordinating Council ended its meeting and minutes before the crucial consultations began.

The opposition will be back in parliament as early as tomorrow if Premier Lukanov resigns. "At 10 am tomorrow we will be in parliament, either to get down to brass tacks or to hear officially about Lukanov's resignation," Mr. Beron said.

Mr. Lyuben Bozhilov, spokesman for the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, said that his party opposes a participation in the government before private ownership is enshrined in the new Constitution. The Social Democrats, too, were against commitment to power at this point.

On December 15 and 16 the united opposition will hold a national conference in Plovdiv, the SDS Coordinating Council resolved today.

MP Kornezov Quits BSP Assembly Faction

AU3011115490 Sofia BTA in English 1037 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Nov (BTA)—"I leave the Socialists' parliamentary faction because I can't stand any longer the political machinations of a group of Red aristocrats," said Mr. Lyuben Kornezov MP of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], who before the last BSP Congress in September served as spokesman for the Socialists' parliamentary faction.

He made this statement after parliament voted in the resignation of Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

In the lobbies Mr. Kornezov was congratulated on his action by some of his Socialist colleagues.

Approached by the BTA, Mr. Kornezov declined to elaborate on the motives for his withdrawal from the Socialists' parliamentary faction.

Mr. Kornezov, 43, a qualified lawyer, worked as president of the District Court in Yambol and was elected in a Yambol single-member constituency.

Media TU Calls For Tolerance of Different Views

AU2911154890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] The Administrative Board of the National Radio and Television Trade Union insists on overcoming the paralysis which exacerbates the economic crisis. We allowed the members of our trade union to act in accordance with their conscience in anything related to the strike. We preserve our position that every employee of the Bulgarian Radio and Television must be given normal conditions for exercising their right to work. Thus the Bulgarian Radio and Television programs will not be upset.

Simultaneously, we categorically protest against attempts to use pressure and personal insults on the part of those who disagree with the real strike activities, the declaration of the Administrative Board of the National Radio and Television Trade Union reads. We think that no one should have the right to speak on behalf of all. We call upon the leaderships of the Bulgarian Radio and Television to ensure an atmosphere of tolerance toward the different opinions.

Commission Discusses Strike's Legality

AU2911153890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] On 29 November the Grand National Assembly Commission on Television and Radio focused its attention on the issue of the legality of the strike by Bulgarian Radio and Television workers.

Representatives of the television workers who are not on strike were heard. They demand that they be given the opportunity to implement their creative and professional duties. The issue was posed of who will cover the losses inflicted by the lost broadcasting time. A representative of the Strike Committee of the Bulgarian Television was also heard. He clarified that nothing prevents the workers who are not on strike from carrying out their duties.

Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee on Television, said that the chaos in the television is complete. He thinks that it is not normal to change the television time because of the strike. According to him the television must return to its regular programs, while the workers who strike should find another way of demonstrating their support for the strike.

Aleksandur Vladkov, chairman of the Committee on Radio, explained the grounds of the agreement that was signed between him and the radio's Strike Committee on announcing a real strike at 2200 [2000 GMT] on 28 November. Mr. Vladkov pointed out that the programs of the Bulgarian Radio are being carried in a normal manner. The programs and the newscasts are being aired as usual. However, the workers have the right to express their attitude toward the strike on the air.

In signing the agreement both sides were led by the intention to preserve the stability of the radio programs. Those programs are a part of the national security system, therefore the listeners should not be deprived of rapid and topical information during the decisive hours for the country.

In conclusion the members of the Grand National Assembly Commission on Radio and Television adopted a decision in which they recommend to the chairmen of the Committees on Radio and Television the immediate adoption of measures in accordance with the country's laws to ensure the normal activity of the most popular mass media. The commission expresses its concern with the tension in the radio and television, something which could greatly influence the situation in the country.

BTA Outlines Background to Political Crisis

AU2911180490 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Mariya Velkovska report]

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—After a month-long students strike and after several days of a general strike pressing demands for the resignation of the government, after the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) suspended indefinitely its participation in the Grand National Assembly, senior functionaries of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) told the press: "The situation is unchanged, the government has received a vote of confidence in parliament." These statements came at a time when the political forces are engaged in intense consultations on a political deal that would boost the law-making operation of the Grand National Assembly and would settle the cabinet crisis. These negotiations are evidence that parliament is paralysed.

With a legitimately elected parliament and government, the country has been in a political crisis for months. The reason is that the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party secured a majority in parliament at the June election but started to lose the voters' confidence. If the elections were held now, they would have been won by the Union of Democratic Forces.

The reform has yet to come, living standards are plummeting disastrously.

The BSP managed to stay in power promising a painless transition to a market economy. Instead, its government came up with a "right-wing" and "harsh" programme. Since February Mr. Andrey Lukanov has been heading a second one-party cabinet and is invariably criticized for inaction. He was accused of trying to maintain his party's positions, that the idea was to transform the Socialists' political power into economic power. His attempts to secure the participation of the opposition in a coalition government have failed.

The BSP has left unanswered the demands of the SDS and of large sections of the public to admit its guilt for nearly half a century of arbitrary rule which has led the country to the present disaster. The ruling party has yet to declare its property.

Public discontent has escalated over the last two months.

In parliament, the Socialist faction acted from the position of strength. It approved on its own Mr. Lukanov's cabinet on September 20, later on pushed through an update of the national budget for the period until the end of the year, and finally voted confidence in the government. During all that time, Mr. Lukanov has been calling for broad parliamentary support and on several occasions threatened to resign if he did not get it. He complained that parliament was holding back the government's activity.

The students and the two major trade union associations declared themselves against the government. The prime minister tried to exert pressure on the media which give platform to strike organisers. A general strike was declared, and it involves more and more people. The anti-government protests and demonstrations have become a daily practice in the country. Mr. Andrey Lukanov, however, has not seen this as a reason to resign.

TU Head Petkov Meets Assembly Deputy Chairman

AU2911202390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] Ginyu Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

They discussed the newly emerged, complicated political and socioeconomic situation in the country.

Methods of drastically improving the effectiveness of the Grand National Assembly and of accelerating its legislative activities were also reviewed. The two officials exchanged views on the opportunities of electing a

genuinely working government based on broad consensus, likely to bear the responsibility of the executive power and capable of promptly initiating all socioeconomic reforms by relying on the broad support of the government.

BZNS Issues Declaration on Razgrad 'Republic'

AU2911152490 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Declaration of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Permanent Board]

[Text] Loyal to its everlasting principles which express our nation's most cherished aspirations for people's power, for a pure and sacred Republic, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] resolutely denounces the anti-constitutional and anti-national act of a truly medieval separatism which was proclaimed by the regional Committee for the Defense of National Interests in Razgrad announcing the establishment of a local republic.

This incredible and even preposterous announcement, the arrogant proclamation of the presumptuous separatists who unceremoniously declared that they ignore the Grand National Assembly, the presidential institution, and the government, and do not recognize the laws of the country, according to the BZNS can only be evaluated as an act of national treason in the true sense of this word.

In this context we ardently support the appeal launched by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, to all fellow citizens because the unprecedented act is a real encroachment upon the country's national sovereignty and its territorial integrity. We hope that all Bulgarian organizations, movements and institutions, will refuse to tolerate similar acts, regardless of where they come from, regardless of their political and ethnic motivations and origins. In its long-standing history the BZNS has never admitted any compromise on the question of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and indivisibility, and will do everything within its power and influence among the people to prevent any political speculations and unreasonable actions which are alien to real patriotism which we all so urgently need in this dramatic period of the country's development.

Sofia City Council To Sue BSP Supreme Council

AU2911194690 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Nov (BTA)—The news was disclosed to the BTA by the spokesman for the Sofia Municipal Council who said that the council has filed claims with the Sofia State Arbitration against the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in connection with a misappropriation by the Supreme Council of housing estate to the total value of 5,168,661 leva.

In the coming days claims will be filed with the court over misappropriated residential units by former members, alternate members and secretaries of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

Ex-Tsar Simeon Interviewed on Current Crisis

AU2911155290 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Madrid, 29 Nov (BTA)—"The hope raised by the political change in Bulgaria last year was great but short-lived. If nothing changes people lose patience. The government must realize this," says Simeon II, who lives in Madrid, in an interview for the Spanish daily "ABC."

Recalling that Simeon II "has always been critical of the opposition's refusal to cooperate with the government," the paper asked him: "What is your opinion of the strike declared by Podkrepa?" "I am not critical, I rather stand up for moderation but we must admit that sometimes the legitimate methods are used up. The passive civil resistance, which after all this strike is, is understandable at this point."

"What would be the implications of the fall of the Lukanov government?"

"Resignations should be voted in at parliament, but in some cases public opinion and the prudence of the person who resigns on the people's insistence prevail. The bad thing is that resignations under pressure from street power are becoming a habit. Still, I repeat: You can't ignore everything and close your eyes to the lack of public changes. On the other hand, if Bulgaria wakes to an opposition prime minister there will be no more grounds to hear absurdities of the kind that Bulgaria is the slowest changing East European country or that it is the most communist one. In this sense, an agreement on a government between the communists and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] opposition would be perhaps the best solution."

Asked about a possible "government of experts," Simeon II answers: "This would be a convenient, temporary and practical solution which may eliminate many political deadlocks."

BSP Headquarters Reopens Following Aug Arson

AU2911200790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Nov 90 p 1

[Dora Chichkova report: "Bulgarian Socialist Party Central Club Resumes its Activities"]

[Text] The Central Club of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has reopened its doors. Naturally, the old premises, the restoration of which is proceeding with difficulties as a result of the arson attack against the party headquarters, cannot be used yet. The club activities will provisionally take place in the central lobby of the building and in the "Georgi Kirkov" Hall.

In addition to party newspapers and magazines, the visitors will find topical information on current events and will have the opportunity of taking a cup of coffee and meeting with leaders and parliament members from the BSP. They can obtain advice on legal questions and other issues of their concern. According to the program schedule, Wednesdays will be devoted to cultural events.

No official opening is planned. However, Stefan Prodev promised to attend the first major meeting. It is expected to open on Friday, 30 November, at 1800 [1600 GMT].

To begin with, the doors of the club will only be open on working days between 1400 and 2000. There is a provisional telephone number for those who would like to submit some ideas: 87-70-56 (between 1000 and 1300).

BSP Denies Illegal Dealings With Party Property

AU2711130790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Decision of Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council on Party Property]

[Excerpt] The changes initiated on 10 November 1989, the new line of policy approved by the recent congresses, and the renewal of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] require the application of a new approach to the size, origin, and use of the party's property. The Bulgarian Socialists consider the final solution of this problem as their moral-political obligation.

The BSP is a regularly registered juridical body and has all the legal grounds to own property and to dispose of it. The right of ownership over one's property is in accordance with the requirements of the Law on Property. The party's income comprises membership contributions, voluntary donations, and state subsidies. The subsidies granted to the BSP, as well as to other political and social organizations are in conformity with the country's Constitution and laws.

The BSP considers the policy of the past in connection with party property as incorrect, which applies to the size, structure, and manner of using this property. The BSP considers that this method is not in conformity with the country's economic situation and affects the people's sense of justice. The BSP does not intend to accumulate wealth and to increase its property for its own sake.

Guided by the aforementioned conviction, the party decides to reduce the size of its property to the necessary minimum required for the achievement of its objectives and tasks in accordance with the statute. The party takes the country's current political situation, the development of legislation, and the new principles and criteria for the financial activities of political parties into consideration.

In evaluating the share of the state subsidies in the accumulated party property, the BSP has already submitted and continues to place the majority of its property and assets at the disposal of the relevant state organs free of charge. The state organs are expected to dispose of the aforementioned assets in accordance with social needs.

The aforementioned properties include: All large party houses, all buildings and projects that served ceremonial and representative purposes, residences, and former regional party schools, and educational institutions.

In accordance with the decision of the BSP Supreme Council adopted in May 1990, the party transferred 65 properties worth over 250 million leva to the state. As many as 41 buildings were handed over to the state by 31 August 1990. As for the remaining 24 party houses, their transfer to the state was stopped by the temporary moratorium on business transactions with the property of public organizations imposed by a decision of the Grand National Assembly.

The party has currently submitted new assets to the state, which includes the state's business share in half of the founding capital of the party's book publishing and printing shop complex, and of the "Slunchev Den" tourist offices chain. All this shows that we are not placing our selfish party interests above national interests. The BSP intends to use the remaining part of its property for organizing its political and ideological activities. In accordance with the laws of the country and the Party Statute, the BSP also engages in economic activities with its property for the purpose of implementing its programmatic goals. These activities are publicly known.

The party resolutely rejects all insinuations that the BSP is engaging in illegal operations with party property. All such insinuations and accusations about "dirty" being "laundered" by such operations are groundless and untrue. The companies established on the basis of a Presidium decision have nothing in common with enterprises founded by private individuals, even if the individuals in question are former party members, or leading figures of the past. Any acts of corruption linked with the party's property shall be severely punished.

The BSP is firmly resolved to work consistently for the implementation of this decision in an atmosphere of complete glasnost toward the public and under the control of the Grand National Assembly.

BSP Restores More Than Half of Party Property

AU2711132590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 90 p 1, 2

[Vasil Popov report: "The Bulgarian Socialist Party Restores 57 Percent of its Property"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is restoring 57 percent of its property to the state, according to a decision of the BSP Supreme Council adopted at yesterday's meeting. (We are publishing the decision separately). The value of the party's property is expected to amount to 570 million leva by December 1990. The share of state subsidies amounts to 57 stotinki for each

leva of this amount. Accordingly, property amounting to a total of 325 milllion leva will be restored to the state.

The fact that data on the party's property were not disclosed in the past contributed to all kinds of rumors and insinuations regarding the party and its "enormous" assets, Blagoy Dechev, member of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium stated in his report to the meeting. Thanks to the recently published data on the value of the party property this great mistake of the past has been corrected.

The debates on the report stressed that the municipal BSP leaderships must express their views on the future use of party buildings situated on their territories so that some of these assets may serve as a minimum material base for their future political activities. Proposals were submitted on the use of the Buzludzha memorial home, of various other memorial houses, while two alternative proposals on the future use of the central Sofia Party House were examined.

Aleksandur Lilov proposed the election of new Presidium members. He based his statement on the argument that the party's political leadership should be assisted in its activities between Supreme Council meetings and that the unity of the council should be implemented on the basis of the congress' documents. The BSP Supreme Council adopted a decision (which we are publishing separately) on this proposal by electing nine new Presidium members.

At the end of yesterday's meeting, six Supreme Council members declared that they are freezing their membership in the party leading body. They expressed their concern about the work of the Supreme Council and the All-Party Control Commission in connection with revealing the truth on the distortions committed in the past and seeking personal responsibility.

Former Officials Said Rooted in Foreign Ministry

AU2911180790 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Vladimir Filipov article: "Depoliticization in the Foreign Ministry Manner"]

[Text] New obstacles have been created in resolving the problem of depoliticizing the Foreign Ministry organization. The key posts in the ministry have been allocated to former high functionaries of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] (Bulgarian Communist Party) and State Security officers. Bulgaria continues to be represented in the world by people who made a personal contribution to lowering the country's international prestige.

For several months now, the ministry has been making feverish appointments of party cadres from the nomenklatura and cadres from so-called "other departments," giving them primarily high ranks and foreign posts. Those who most actively participated in the BSP election campaign were promoted or given official benefits. It is well known that the Foreign Ministry was one of the brain centers of the campaign.

All this activity is going on at a moment when the opposition's access to the ministry has been blocked for all practical purposes. Certain political circles aim to retain control over the country's foreign policy, irrespective of who heads the government.

Recently a draft law on a new structure for the Foreign Ministry was quietly submitted to the Foreign Policy Commission of the Grand National Assembly. On the very next day, DUMA announced that the structure had been approved. When and how it was approved is another matter, but let us look at what actually was proposed:

It is evident that certain political circles have discussed the likelihood of a "blue" foreign minister. If the proposed structure is adopted, the foreign minister will be placed in a strange position. A secretary of state—a professional diplomat from the former ministerial old guard—will be interposed between him and his deputies responsible for different fields. A "collegium" will be attached to the minister which will be responsible for formulating the foreign policy line, independently of the minister himself. As a counter to this, the minister is generously granted the opportunity to appoint members of his chancellery, a spokesman, and a parliamentary secretary. It is understandable why DUMA described the future foreign minister as a "figurehead" [shapka]. Is it permissible for all the ministry's main activities to be supervised by the secretary of state? He will have control over the certification commission, the cadres department, and matters connected with appointments, promotions, dismissals, and changes of posts. He will manage all the ministry's information services, financial and administrative matters, and will directly supervise internal departmental control.

The essence of the plan proposed by the BSP representatives lies in establishing a balance between "permanent appointments" (of people from the present team) and "political appointments" (which lie within the powers of the minister). To dispel the last traces of doubt about the scheme, we wish to point out that among the names of those who drew up the draft structure, by a strange coincidence we discover the selfsame "experts" who served in the brain trusts at the BSP election campaign headquarters.

Otherwise, the new structure looks reasonable, but only for a country with a normal democratic practice. In our case, the approval of this structure would mean that, no matter who leads the government and the Foreign Ministry, foreign policy decisions will be left almost totally to "worthy professionals" from the former regime. This means that the radical changes in Bulgaria's foreign policy which are so urgently necessary will be blocked.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Military Doctrine

AU2611171890 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 21 Nov 90 p 2

[Report on interview with National Defense Minister Yordan Mutafchiev by Zvyatko Belenski and Ivan Staevski; place and date not given: "Our Military Doctrine Is Defensive"; first two paragraphs are OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK introduction]

[Text] Our military doctrine is defensive, Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defense, declared at a briefing with journalists. It appeared that following the reduction in military personnel, the number of Bulgarian Army personnel amounts to 107,000 men, 50 percent of whom are professional soldiers (namely regular sergeants and officers) and that 1,479 tanks, 1,750 artillery systems, 235 aircraft, 69 helicopters, and 2,000 infantry vehicles are available to the Army. The Army's budget for 1990 amounts to 1,615,600 leva and the expenditures envisaged for 1991 will not be significantly reduced.

The number of army personnel and military equipment are currently reduced to a critical minimum. We asked the minister the following question in this context:

[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] Is the Bulgarian Army currently capable of defending the country's national security and territorial integrity?

[Mutafchiev] The security of all nations should insured by peaceful means in the first place. For this reason our country supports all peaceful initiatives. We are sincerely striving for agreements on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, on the reduction of military expenditures, and on safeguarding the security of all countries. Nevertheless, we consider the reduction of our armed forces to this critical minimum as inadmissible. So far, we have relied on our participation in the Warsaw Pact. However, considering the current trends in Europe and the transformation of this organization from a military-political into a purely political alliance we must rely on our own efforts and on our bilateral treaties with the USSR and other countries. Basing ourselves on these realities and on our country's strategic situation, we are expanding our contacts and mutual relations in the military sector with our neighbors, with all European countries, and with the United States. We also rely on the results of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which would inevitably influence the military level of the neighbor countries.

[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK] Is there any development in the process of disarmament and of reducing armed forces and armaments in Turkey for the time being?

[Mutafchiev] This question was raised by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov during his recent visit to Turkey. We are awaiting new developments. Radnyu Minchev, first deputy minister of national defense and the Bulgarian People's Army chief of staff is expected to visit Turkey in the near future. The military formation which is deployed in Eastern Thracia has not been reduced; it is even being updated in certain respects. In that area, the Turkish Army is three times superior to the Bulgarian Army. However, we rely on the hope that people in Turkey will duly appreciate the general process of disarmament which is currently under way in Europe and the world. We cannot say that good the actions of our southern neighbor are deprived of goodwill. Despite the extensive anti-Bulgarian campaign conducted during the period of the Bulgarian Turks' exodus, not one belligerent speech against Bulgaria was ever delivered by the leading staff of the Turkish Army, no movements of troops were registered, and no military provocation has occurred.

Interior Ministry Students Protest to Penev

AU2911194190 Sofia DEMOKRATISYA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 90 p 4

[Plamen Anakiev report]

[Text] We have lived to see even this! Over 200 students and lecturers from the Higher Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs took part in a silent protest held on 21 November in front of the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia. Representatives of the protesters were received by Minister Penev. They handed him a declaration which refers to "gross repression of the human rights of the lecturers and students at the institute" and makes important demands relating to social law. If their demands are not satisfied before the end of the week, the effective protest actions will continue. The same document also expresses support for the student strikes throughout the country.

The students' protest, which started on 6 November and about which the readers of DEMOKRATSIYA have been kept informed, could not be cooled down even by the extraordinary two-week "vacation" period.

'Democracy and Social Justice' Movement Founded

AU2711185790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Nov 90 p 2

[BTA report: "Democracy and Socialist Justice Movement Established"]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Nov—A constituent conference for the establishment of a Democracy and Social Justice Movement was held in Sofia today.

The initiators of the movement consider its role in our country's sociopolitical and economic life as a factor of social stabilization. The movement is nationwide according to its nature and has no political objectives. It rallies the efforts of people with different political convictions and views, representatives of different social, ethnic, religious, and other groups which support the defense of democracy and social justice.

Proposed Price Increases Listed, Analyzed

AU1911182790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Nov 90 p 1

[Margit Terzieva and Dimitrana Aleksandrova article: "The Truth About New Prices, Compensation, and Price Increases"]

[Text]

Proposal on Changing Certain Retail Prices:

Goods	Quantity per lev	Present price in leva	New price	Percentage of change
"Dobrudzha" bread	830 grams	0.30	0.85	283
"Stara Zagora" bread	830 grams	0.40	1.00	250
Pork with bones	1 kg	5.00	13.50	270
Veal with bones	1 kg	5.40	15.00	278
Chicken	1 kg	3.20	9.80	306
Veal salami	1 kg	4.00	19.80	495
"Servilat" salami	1 kg	6.50	27.00	415
Butter	125 grams	0.72	3.25	151
Sunflower oil	1 liter	1.50	3.80	253
Eggs	1 unit	0.13	0.30	231
Fresh milk	1 liter	0.36	1.20	333
Cow milk yogurt	500 grams	0.23	0.85	370
Sheep cheese	1 kg	3.60	10.50	292
Cow milk cheese	1 kg	2.60	8.80	338
"Vitosha" yellow cheese	1 kg	4.00	12.20	305
Sugar	1 kg	1.50	3.50	233
Electric power (at daily rate)	Kilowatt hour	0.045	0.107	238
Heating	1 Gram Calorie	10.00	30.00	300
Brown coal	1 ton	28.00	54.00	193
Railroad ticket (100 km by express train, second class)	1 unit	2.30	5.75	250
Regular bus ticket (for 100 km)	1 unit	2.70	5.60	216
City transportation ticket	1 unit	0.06	0.30	500
Baby food:				
Hip puree	190 grams	0.18	0.85	472
Vegetable puree	190 grams	0.20	0.94	470
"Sluncho" fruits	200 grams	0.62	1.40	226
Veal with rice	190 grams	0.26	1.24	477
"Khumana"	200 grams	5.50	9.00	164

The consumer basket of 600 goods and services, which is taken as a basis for determining the social minimum, will increase in the following manner with the retail price increases:

Leva per month

	Expenses for food	Total
Average per person	71	97
Children up to age 18	67	92
Workers	76	105
Pensioners	61	83

Proposed Compensation for the Change in Retail Prices: Labor Wages

Amount of wage	Compensation per month in leva
165	105.00
200	101.50
300	91.50
400	81.50
500	71.50

The workers and employees with minimum wages receive full compensation for the change in retail prices on the basis of the social minimum. All the rest will receive compensation which is 90 stotinki for every lev above the minimum wage. No compensation is envisaged for wages above 1,150 leva.

Proposed Compensation for the Change in Retail Prices: Pensions

Amount of pension	Compensation per month in leva
Up to 250 leva	83
300	78
350	73
400	68
450	63
500	58

Pensioners with pensions up to 250 leva receive full compensation for the change in the retail prices on the basis of the social minimum. For every additional lev of income the compensation decreases by 0.10 leva.

The compensation for every child is 92 leva per moth.

The compensation for rearing a child up to the second year of age is 105 leva per month.

The compensation for pupils and students (with or without stipends) is 92 leva per month.

Those compensations will be received in addition to the indexation of the population's basic income, on the basis of Decree No. 193 of the Council of Ministers.

As a result of the indexation and compensation, a worker with a minimum wage will receive during the first month of introducing the state regulated prices a labor wage of 165 leva, compensation of 105 leva, and 26.40 leva as indexation, if the index of the consumer goods (without the state regulated prices), has not surpassed 24.3 percent in comparison to June 1990.

Those proposals for the retail prices and the compensations are being discussed at present by the Grand National Assembly within the bill on amendments to the state budget. If they are adopted, they will be introduced by a decree of the Council of Ministers.

The forthcoming increase of the prices of many goods and services, and the new prices, which for 10 days have been discussed in every line in front of the shops, sound simply incredible. However, the debate of the draft on amending the 1990 budget at the Grand National Assembly dispersed all doubts. It is no joke: It has really been envisaged that retail prices of certain goods will significantly increase.

According to the experts who took part in preparing the government's proposal, the process of price increases during a transition period such as ours has several objective causes. It has been prompted by the liberalization of some prices and freezing the prices of the basic foodstuffs. This violated all objective economic relations. In 1989 one kg of pork chops cost as much as 24.5 kg potatoes, 27 kg of cabbage, or 13.5 kg of apples, but today for the same price one can still buy one kg of pork chops (if one could find them), but only 3.4 kg of potatoes, 6 kg of cabbage, or 4.5 kg of apples. Similar abnormal relations can be observed in comparing the prices of eggs, milk, and dairy and meat products.

The government's experts see the solution not in preserving the artificial defensive armor created by the state around the prices of the consumer goods, but in accelerating the elimination of this system under one obligatory condition: simultaneous conduct of antimonopoly, anti-inflation, and compensation measures. Therefore, simultaneously with the new prices of the goods of first necessity, the government submitted to the parliament for discussion a specific proposal on compensating people from the various social groups for the rise in the cost of living. The calculations are a result of state controlled retail price increase, and were made on the basis of the social minimum and the small consumer basket, which consists of 600 goods.

The data included in the charts has been provided by government experts.

Regulations for Bulgarians Working Abroad Issued

AU2611170590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "New Regulations for Working Abroad"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has adopted an instruction on the conditions under which Bulgarian citizens are entitled to work in Bulgarian enterprises and construction projects abroad.

According to the new instructions, the "dispatching organization" can be any company, enterprise, or other economic institution with which the candidate to work abroad signs a labor contract.

The initial labor contract is signed for a period of two years. The deadline can be prolonged to four years, and if the period for the completion of the relevant building project should be delayed the contract can be further extended, but for no longer than six years.

Bulgarian citizens working abroad are entitled to a prolonged regular annual home leave in accordance with the period envisaged for the respective countries, on the basis of the Instruction on the Legal Labor Situation of Workers Abroad. An additional annual leave extending to 12 days is granted to those working in the Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], in the far north, in the desert regions, and in the Kursk mining enterprise [Kurska Magnitna Anomaliya]. The prolonged annual leave is paid in foreign currency, with the exception of the calender year in which the worker is supposed to return home for good.

The dispatching organization is obliged to transfer the savings of workers to Bulgaria no later than three months following the receipt of their wages and to add the appropriate interest, if the payment of wages is delayed.

Bulgarian citizens are insured in accordance with Bulgarian legislation by their dispatching organization.

The instruction comes into force as of 1 December 1990. The texts related to the settlement of the paid annual leave shall be valid as of 1 January 1991.

The legal acts which settle wages in currency and leva, and the established system of remuneration continue to be valid even after the new instruction has come into force.

Greece's Mitsotakis Wishes Stability for Nation

AU2911152790 Sofia BTA in English 1503 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Athens, 29 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, prime minister of Greece and leader of the ruling new democracy party, wished Bulgaria stability. Talking to the press after today's meeting of the New Democracy leadership, the Greek head of government expressed the

hope that developments in Bulgaria will not foil his visit to Sofia scheduled for December 6 and 7. "I set great store by my visit to Bulgaria and I wish stability to that friendly country," he said.

Economic Relations With Greece To Expand

AU2711204390 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Athanasios Xarkhas, Greece's minister of trade, opened a trade office at his country's embassy here today. He described it as a token of the great importance which Greece attaches to its relations with Bulgaria. The Greek foreign minister Mr. Andonios Samaras paid a visit here a short time ago, and the Prime Minister Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis is expected to arrive in early December.

The idea is that Bulgaria open shortly a similar trade office in Salonika. The two offices will help Bulgarian and Greek companies establish more vigorous contacts.

The Greek minister, who expressly arrived for the occasion, assured his audience that he will be working actively for the expansion of bilateral trade and economic contacts and for upgrading them to a higher level.

Mr. Atanas Paparizov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, said that the Greek Government contributes substantially to the search of ways for financial and technical assistance to Bulgaria.

Zhelev, Lukanov Receive U.S. Treasury Official

AU2711155090 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Nov (BTA)—Conferring today with Mr. John Robson, U.S. deputy secretary of the treasury, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, described the situation in the country as a "political crisis" due to the "disparity between the correlation of political forces inside and outside parliament." He expressed the conviction that there is no alternative to democracy and market economy, that everything else are utopias which cost too dearly.

At his meeting with the president and, later on, at a session of talks with the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, Mr. John Robson said that the overcoming of the political and economic difficulties experienced by the country will largely predetermine his government's aid program. The United States can render Bulgaria humanitarian and technical aid to build state structures but Bulgaria should above all help itself. He believes that Bulgaria is lagging behind in the race of Central and Eastern Europe to catch the eye of the International Monetary Fund, of the World Bank and of the G-24. Those who want to attract their attention should not only prove they have democratic laws but should guarantee foreign investment.

Mr. Robson said that the other countries' support for Bulgaria will depend on whether it will cope with the political crisis and break the deadlock of the reform. The International Monetary Fund reacted positively to the economic reform concept in Bulgaria but it would already like to see readiness for their practical implementation.

The Bulgarian president briefed his guest on the schedule which the Grand National Assembly adopted for the passage of major legislation by the end of the year. He himself insists on a speedy adoption of five or six laws irrespective of the controversy surrounding the government. Mr. John Robson, an ex-congressman, recommended that the investment law be widely open so as to open up Bulgaria to the rest of the world.

In his talks with the prime minister he reaffirmed that the Bulgarian Government's economic reform program does create conditions for a way out of the crisis. Mr. John Robson reiterated that the reforms should move ahead together with the development of the democratic process.

Their shared conclusion was that the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria have considerable opportunities which otherwise could have been wasted. This largely depends on the actions of the people and of the political forces.

The sides considered the opportunities for an early signing of a trade agreement and its ratification by the U.S. Congress.

Mr. John Robson is accompanied by Ambassador Robert Barry, special adviser in the State Department on economic assistance to Eastern Europe: by Mr. Richard Schmalensee, member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; by a senior official of the International Development Agency and others. The idea of the visit is to get familiar with the progress of economic reform in Bulgaria and to consider the U.S. Government's humanitarian and technical aid.

Health Care Agreement With Turkey Finalized

AU2111202890 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 21 Nov (BTA)—"We want Bulgaria to be a mighty state because we believe that Turkey and Bulgaria guarantee peace in the Balkans," Mr. Halil Sivgin, Turkey's minister of health, said today.

The Turkish guest and his Bulgarian counterpart Prof. Ivan Chernozemski signed a health care cooperation agreement under which the two countries will exchange information and will encourage joint initiatives in health care, in the production of medical equipment and in the pharmaceuticals industry, in water cure and other areas.

Speaking at a news conference after the signing ceremony, Mr. Sivgin suggested that Bulgaria and Turkey join their efforts for the realization of the Ankara-proposed Balkan and Black Sea Common Market. The

Turkish minister believes that by united efforts the two countries can secure a befitting place in a future united Europe.

It will be only reasonable if Bulgaria and Turkey focus on mutually advantageous cooperation and avoid disputes on non-existent or minor issues, according to Mr. Sivgin. He predicted a new stage in the promotion of bilateral relations and expressed the hope that medicine "which knows no language, religious and other differences" will pave the way.

Mr. Sivgin was received by General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, by Mr. Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. He conferred with Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and member of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Ministry Welcomes Reports of Ozal Statement

AU2811162290 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT 28 Nov 90

["Bulgaria Is Pleasantly Surprised by Turkey's Position"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)—The statement of the Turkish president, Mr. Turgut Ozal, cited in CUMHURIYET and GUNES on November 22, according to which the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Turkey and Bulgaria could be thought of was commented here today as a pleasant surprise for Bulgaria.

At a news conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a high- ranking official said no official information from the Turkish side had been received yet and commented on the announcement made by the Turkish press. Obviously Turkey's Government has changed its policy on the matter, the official said. In his opinion the most important thing are the bilateral guarantees which should go beyond the agreements reached in the military sphere.

Bulgaria has suggested several times to conclude an all-embracing security and cooperation treaty with Turkey.

Such a proposal was made in December 1986 at the meeting of the foreign ministers in Vienna. Later on it was renewed at the Kuwait bilateral meeting. At the subsequent Kuwait second meeting the Turkish side did not clarify its position on the matter. The proposal was discussed at the meeting the two countries' prime ministers held in September this year in Turkey. Then an agreement in principle was reached for a meeting of Bulgaria's and Turkey's chiefs of the General Staffs. A Bulgarian military delegation was to leave for Turkey today in connection with the preparations for the meeting, but they could not leave the country because of the strike of the Bulgarian Balkan Airlines.

The Foreign Ministry official underlined that in its future contacts with the Turkish side Bulgaria will be guided by the new realities.

Fodder Grain Deliveries Expected From France

AU2911200590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Fodder To Be Delivered by the End of February 1990"]

[Text] An agreement was signed with French companies for the import of 300,000 tons of fodder grain. The deliveries are expected to begin in December and to be completed by the end of February 1991.

A total of 100,000 tons of domestic fodder grain has been released from the state reserves.

These amounts are expected to satisfy the needs of the major pork, poultry, and eggs producers for the period by the end of February 1991.

An additional amount of 600,000 tons of fodder grain are expected to be imported from other countries by the end of June 1991.

Prime Ministers Conclude Budget Talks in Prague

LD2811103790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The meeting of prime ministers of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments—Marian Calfa, Petr Pithart, and Vladimir Meciar—in Prague ended late last night by finding two basic global methods for solving budget questions.

The finance ministers will concern themselves with concrete calculations from this morning onward.

As Vaclav Klaus said, one of these methods is not to enter into conflict over individual figures but to look for more general solutions.

Slovak Finance Minister Michal Kovac expressed the expectation that, according to the method agreed, in particular on the basis of goodwill, a conclusion will successfully be reached with which all three sides will be satisfied. We were in agreement in our view, that all the budgets must be equally restrictive and that it is vital to create a surplus. We were also aware of our responsibility before the IMF.

Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek said the participants discussed ways of ensuring that the budgets form a single whole. It is impossible to base financial relations on exceptions and unclear points. The rules proposed will have to be checked to make certain that they ensure the unity of the budget system with the framework of the federation as a whole.

Asked whether the participants of the meeting were satisfied, the ministers gave a positive reply. Vaclav Klaus pointed out that they will all be dissatisfied because something will have to be deducted from the budgets. We have reduced tax rates and this means that budget incomes are, naturally, also reduced. At the same time, a fall in the share of state budgets in the national income is also taking place, which causes a number of problems.

Government Session Ponders 1992 Economic Strategy

AU2811140290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

["ks"-signed report: "Hard but Necessary"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Government met yesterday in its regular session. There were eight items on the agenda of the meeting chaired by Prime Minister Marian Calfa. The development strategy for the Czechoslovak economy until 1992 was included among these items.

In connection with the economic reform, the government dealt with the apprenticeship education. Namely, an acute danger exists of fifteen-year-old unemployed people. Already now, 50 percent of the positions for practical education of apprentices are threatened in the Czech Republic alone. Because of the gloomy state of the Czechoslovak economy, the interest of enterprises during the present transitional period is aimed above all at a fast realization of profit. Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate temporarily, in the educational law the state's interest in the vocational education in the conditions of the economic reform. The former system of apprenticeship education at state enterprises must be maintained. The government requested that the federal minister of the economy, in cooperation with the appropriate ministries of both republics, give priority to dealing with the complex financing of the vocational schools and considering this issue in the taxation system.

Further, a proposal was discussed for the first stage of the restraining program in coal mining for 1990-1992. The state fuel-energy policy assumes a reduction in the share of coal in the power production in the state. The first stage of the restriction concerns 11 pits of five state enterprises, which within two years are supposed to reduce their production by three million tonnes of coal. Thus, they will eliminate annual losses in the amount of 315 million korunas. The restriction, however, will reduce the number of staff by 10,000 workers. This will be evident mostly in the Ostrava region.

The government also dealt with the proposal by the minister of the economy regarding the stoppage of the blocks of the coal power stations in northwest Bohemia during 1990-1995. The main target of the proposal is a substantial improvement of the ecological situation of this region.

The ban on nonbusiness imports of cars older than six years no longer is in effect. The main reason for this decision was the marked contrast between this ban and the rather antiquated car park in the CSFR—only 23 percent of cars in Czechoslovakia are newer than five years. At the same time, the government issued a ban on import of cars with two-stroke engines, which are most ecologically damaging.

The International Organization of Journalists and the International Student Union must conclude their activities in the CSFR by 30 June 1991. These organizations, which have their seats in the CSFR since the 1950s, are at the present subject to criticism for their close ties with the leading structures of the former regime.

The Federal Ministry of Transport submitted proposals for canceling the validity or amending a series of multilateral international agreements and normative documents in the area of transport. Particularly those contractual agreements will be terminated, which were accepted under certain internal and external duress, which limited the Czechoslovak transport in its economic sovereignty, and deprived it of the advantages of a transit country.

From the Government Press Conference

"I do not intend to change my standpoint," Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, said at the press conference that followed the government session

regarding further demands by the miners for early retirement, and he continued: "The commission worked very fast, however, the legislative process is long. The proposal of a government instruction on retirement security of miners will be prepared next week for discussions in the national governments. The acceptable time of exposition should be dealt with pit by pit." The government expressed its agreement to securing the increased financial outlay in compensation (191.5 million korunas). At present, the highest number of shifts worked in the uranium industry is 2,100, in coal industry 2,000 to 6,000, and in ore mines 1,500 to 6,000 shifts. The instruction will enable the miners, who went substantially beyond the time permitted for work underground, to retire at 50 years.

Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy commented on the termination of the operation of the blocks of some coal power stations: "It is not an elimination but a conservation. The electric power consumption should approximately stagnate, nuclear power stations are under construction, and in addition we have an international agreement on electric power supplies."

Strategic Planning Minister Pavel Hoffmann spoke of alternative scenarios for the economic reform, which consider the possible developments of the internal and the external conditions. "It is such an 'internal cookbook' for the government," the minister said.

Also on Thursday [22 November], the government decided on recalling the representatives in the jurisdiction of the former Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry.

Meciar Interviewed on Budget, Economic Problems

LD2811171890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by reporter Marta Vancova in Bratislava on 28 November—recorded]

[Text] [Vancova] You returned from Prague only a few minutes ago. The talks of the three prime minsters went on for more than three hours yesterday. What was the main issue on the agenda? Did you only discuss the budgets?

[Meciar] In a concentrated form, budgets represent a whole network of economics and trade interests. We only discussed the budgets; other areas were only touched on while solving problems that involve money.

Of course, the discussion on budgets was prepared with a certain nervousness. On the radio, and I think also on televison, people were calling on me to change some of my views and positions. Also slight hints were made about my late arrival at the meeting. But the reason for this was that I continued direct from Vienna to Prague without any break, and the weather conditions in Austria made it impossible to change the route, even if we had shortened our stay in Austria.

The talks of the prime ministers went straight to the point. Today, the finance ministers and their deputies are continuing the discussions, in line with some changes that were agreed yesterday.

[Vancova] Can you tell us something about those principles that were agreed yesterday?

[Meciar] It would be premature to give you any information, because the result will depend on specific calculations. And I do not know them at this moment. The finance ministers have been working on them since 0800 this morning. When the finance minister comes back this evening—we have agreed that he will come and brief me on the outcome of the talks by 18.00—I might be able to give you some concrete information.

[Vancova] Why was it necessary yesterday to invite to the talks the finance ministers, as well, and bring along a blackboard and chalk? What was Mr. Klaus trying to prove, and to whom?

[Meciar] For the first time there arose a situation when the Slovak Republic became an observer of consultations between the Federal and Czech Governments. We have of course voiced our views and do not intend to change anything. We only insist on what we have been talking about since Trencianske Teplice.

These issues concern how the management of enterprises in the gas industry, of the gas pipeline and the oil pipeline should be organized. Economic tax payments, as well as incomes and priorities of the republics depend on this. We continue to hold the same views, that this is not a national question but a question of trade, economy, and organization, and that good scores make good friends, and we want to have everything clear as far as accounts are concerned.

[Vancova] You have already mentioned here a moment ago—I will repeat it—that Mr. Pithart in a way called on you in his television address to retract your statements, if I can express it in this way. In fact he hinted that by insisting on the demands of the Slovak side, you can cause a business war between Slovakia and the Czech lands.

[Meciar] What business war? We have agreed that the source of the basic income for the republic budgets will be what is produced on republic territory. The Slovak Republic does not want anything, it only insists on this. There must be such a balance between the republic's sources in the area of incomes and expenditures, which will correspond to our intentions. We do not want the Czech Republic to pay for us, but we will not pay for it either. We want balanced but equal relations.

They are calling on me to change my positions, but those are not my positions any more, they are the positions of the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council, which are binding on me. They are the fundamental and fair demands of the Slovak economy in

relation to the Czech economy, and also to the federal one. There is no space for compromises here, and I have nothing to change.

For example, some time ago one of the Czech ministers accused us of preparing an inflationary budget. But the Czech and the federal budgets set out increased expenditures, and the Slovak is the only one that shows a decrease. Well, who then is preparing inflationary budgets?

We must depart from old ideas that see it possible to ensure—through certain legal moves—that sources produced in Slovakia will continue to be used outside Slovakia, or for principles to be adopted which do not correspond to the amount of work, quality etc. Whoever still thinks in this way is wrong. We want to achieve relations that are fair, equal and economically advantageous for both sides.

Democratic Left-Wing Movement Makes Statement

AU2811143590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 90 p 2

[Miloslav Martinek report: "Democratic Left Wing: Let Us Not Expel One Another"]

[Text] Prague (from our reporter)—One cannot expel from society the more than 1.5 million people who have supported the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the left wing cannot be divided into communists and noncommunists. The members of the Democratic Left Wing believe in the possibility of cooperation with communists, as long as they are not discredited by illegal interventions or normalization practices of the former regime.

This is also implied by the documents released by the state-wide assembly of this movement (10 November this year) and presented to journalists by the representatives of the movement at Thursday's [22 November] press conference. The appeal, which the Democratic Left Wing addressed to all fellow citizens, reads as follows: "... we have to admit objectively the changes in the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Communist Party of Slovakia, offer possibilities for equal cooperation based on equal rights for the whole left wing."

The representatives of the Democratic Left Wing spoke of their goal, i.e., of a help to a constructive dialogue of the left-wing forces. They reject the revival of capitalism and endeavor to renew and revive the ideas of democratic socialism in a modern fashion. The efforts to achieve a constructive dialogue preclude, according to the opinion of the Democratic Left Wing, a transformation of the movement into another antagonistic party. Similarly, it does not allow any attempt at obtaining an exclusive position for any of the components of the left wing toward the others.

Langos Discusses Federal Intelligence Service

AU2711195390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSFR Interior Minister Jan Langos by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "Minister Langos Replies"—first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Just three months ago, senior officials within the Federal Interior Ministry gave serious consideration to abolishing their office. The argument in favor of the need to federally guarantee our security prevailed and the Interior Ministry survived. What kind of structure—and, mainly, what kind of ideas—this new post-November "administration" intends to confront us with is, however, known to only a few people. Therefore, we turned to Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos with, first and foremost, this question.

[Subert] The internal—as well as the external—security of each state is always formulated by its political system. Our military doctrine, precisely formulated in parliament by your colleague, Minister Dobrovsky, is already firmly based on clear democratic principles. Very little, however, has so far been said about our security doctrine—to the detriment of the issue.

[Langos] We have already submitted the first draft security doctrine and the Federal Government's security policy to the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees.

[Subert] Why?

[Langos] In my opinion, this document should contain no more than two pages of text which would discuss in general the change in our security policy orientation. Its contents should outline the completely new relationship between the public and the police and should emphasize the significant turnaround in our security forces' objectives in regard to citizens.

The doctrine should be a kind of explanation enabling the public to perceive the police force as an element of society, as a certain kind of service, and not as an unfriendly or repressive apparatus. The mission and objectives of the police force as a body guaranteeing human and civic rights should also be drawn from this document. The general part of the doctrine should then be specified in individual elements—the border police force, the federal police force, and the intelligence service. It is necessary to develop the government's security policy from here by determining its structure, the number of people, and the immediate objectives of individual sectors.

[Subert] The document clarifying security policy philosophy is also the basic directive for the order-enforcing police units supervised by the republican ministries. These units do not come under your jurisdiction, but the public often does not distinguish between the interior ministries. The bitter criticism targeted upon the police

force in connection with the increase in the crime rate is also often unjustly aimed at you. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, what do you think of the police order-enforcement units?

[Langos] In my opinion, there are several reasons for their apparent inactivity or lack of efficiency. First and foremost, the police officer has lost the strong political protection cultivated for decades. He finds himself in a completely new environment and in an unexpected position regarding society. He is alone on the street, he does not know what he may do, he does not know how and against whom to proceed, he is helpless, and—therefore—ineffective. He is the target of criticism and attacks from some people who see him this way. The police officer is in a situation where he must find a new identity.

[Subert] He will, however, only find his identity with difficulty....

[Langos] Therefore, it is necessary for people to bear in mind that the police force has changed its character and to accept it as a service. The public should accept the police officer as a person whom it is possible to turn to for advice and help.

[Subert] The Interior Ministry does not only have grave problems on the street. At the moment—and this only concerns the Federal Interior Ministry—parliament is debating a law on the federal intelligence service known, to date, as the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. Moreover, relatively lively discussions were held in your office this week about the future fate of the domestic intelligence service.

[Langos] The main problem lies in the cumbersome and—from the personnel point of view—demanding structure of this office which was set up by reactivated security officers. A relatively large colossus was established in which, moreover, many people from the pre-November Interior Ministry work—although, of course, they have been especially screened. We want to change all of this. In my view, the federal intelligence service should acquire 90-95 percent of its information from exclusively open sources—from the press, from interviews with people, and from many other legally accessible sources.

[Subert] Apparently, you are proposing a completely different method of work....

[Langos] The information gathered would be continuously evaluated by the most competent analysts, but working teams would be established for specific tasks resulting from these analyses. Intelligence methods, however, could only be used in very serious instances when the Prosecutor General's Office has acknowledged the indicated danger. Neither the director of the secret service nor the prime minister would make decisions about the use of intelligence technology. This decision would lie exclusively with the prosecutor general.

[Subert] It was not too long ago that senior Interior Ministry officials intervened radically in the intelligence service. All of its staff—albeit very carefully screened people—were dismissed and this service practically ceased to exist. Every government, however, needs confidential information from abroad and, thus, this decision provoked contradictory discussions. Why did this happen?

[Langos] The truth is that highly intelligent specialists with a great deal of experience and a knowledge of foreign environments and languages worked in this service. Following many conversations, I ascertained that they are no longer capable of reorienting themselves toward the different method of work we want to introduce. Moreover, it is impossible to be certain that these people do not have connections with other intelligence agencies. I would not be able to consider information from intelligence officers I do not fully trust to be reliable and truthful.

[Subert] It is known that the new concept for the foreign intelligence service is being developed by a small group of reliable and very capable people. What ideas are they pursuing?

[Langos] Of course, it will be necessary to operate completely independently of and separately from our diplomatic and trade missions. The law, which it is necessary to draft and adopt, should—in my opinion—enshrine the provision that an officer in our service must not violate the laws of the country in which he is operating. For example, he will not be permitted to acquire copies of documents or sets of data by illegal means.

We are also withdrawing completely from scientific and technical intelligence which, prior to November, was the most effective and politically least damaging branch of intelligence. I personally proceed from the view that we do not need absolute state-of-the-art technology—which it is possible to acquire from military technology—because we do not have the technical base to enable us to utilize it. We will be able to buy civilian state-of-the-art know-how and to acquire it by intelligence means would merely be ordinary theft.

[Subert] In conclusion, could you be a little more precise about how our intelligence officers will operate abroad?

[Langos] Their task will be to enter into the political, economic, and social circles of the states within the sphere of our interest. He must become acquainted with interesting people, hold conversations with them, and quickly pass the information he gains onto the analytical center. Our territory of interest will be determined by Czechoslovakia's foreign policy concept. Our intelligence service will orient its antennae in accordance with this.

[Subert] Thank you for a very remarkable interview.

Defense Minister on Foreign Students at Academies

LD2711163990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] Jaroslav Skalicky reports on the joint session of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations.

[Skalicky] At present the session has on its agenda interpellations, comments, and proposals of deputies addressed to members of the Federal Government. Deputies are mostly expressing their satisfaction with written replies from ministers.

For example, it emerges from the reply by the defense minister to an interpellations from Deputy Stanislav Devaty concerning the studies of foreign students at military academies in Czechoslovakia that there are 250 students from Afghanistan, Libya, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Laos at the Military Academy in Brno, and 80 students from Iraq had their studies suspended. There are 45 students at the Military Air Force Academy in Kosice from Algeria, Hungary, and Libya. Contracts for future years will be concluded while taking into account the economic and political usefulness for our republic.

Concerning another question from Deputy Devaty about the share of military spending for each citizen, this year spending will total 2,000 korunas for each citizen. Total spending comes to 31 billion korunas.

Deputy Zdenek Kessler asked about the use of technical intelligence means in the framework of the Federal Interior Ministry's Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. In his reply Minister Jan Langos stressed the fact that the abolition of the State Security unit has in fact ensured that intelligence means equipment is not used and the ban on its use is being strictly observed still. The exception being only telephone tapping which would be provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior by its own means but only on the basis of the necessary decision of a prosecutor and in the conditions set out by the criminal code. Surveillance of persons can be carried out only in cases when there is a justified suspicion that a serious criminal activity—such as drugs, terrorism, arms trading, cooperation with foreign special services, and so on—has been committed.

It is a pity, however, that not all deputies who have submitted their interpellations were present in the hall when they were discussed. This is all for now from the Federal Assembly.

Union, Civic Forum Agree To End Strike Alert

LD2911161590 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions and three members of the Civic Forum Parliamentary Club arrived at an agreement this morning aimed at suspending the strike alert declared by the trade unions.

It is to prevent the Federal Assembly (parliament) deputies from discussing the Labour Code Amendment under pressure, newsmen were told by Ladislav Vrchovsky, member of the Civic Forum Parliamentary Club.

On the basis of this agreement the trade unions should recall the strike alert by a press release on Saturday or Monday at the latest.

Pithart Briefs Czech Parliament on Powers

LD2911162290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpt] We are watching here, in the senate of the Czech parliament, a historic sesssion devoted to the bill on division of powers—the aim of which is to arrange the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic in the new democratic conditions so that it iw a functioning state unit expressing the internal needs of the Czech and Slovak nations.

Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart first summed up results of all talks which have led to the text of the bill on division of powers as it is being submitted today. The amended bill departs from the concept that divided powers into exclusive powers and powers common for republics and the federation, which often led to disputes over powers, above all, and defines the powers of the federation and the powers of republics only. The most important change of the amended bill is the change of that which does belong to the federation's powers. It proceeds from the assumption that republics themselves, above all, have to bear responsibility for own economic and social development, and the task of the federation is to create conditions for a single market. The federation's power, thus, is being shifted above all toward the creation of concepts and to fundamental legislative activity.

Petr Pithart also told deputies how very much relieved he was at the moment when all three governments agreed on the powers and apologized to them at the same time for the fact that the Czech National Council had only a short time to discuss the bill on powers' division.

The Czech Assembly rewarded the prime minister for this words with prolonged applause. [passage omitted]

Czech Press Reports Slovak Question 'Objectively'

AU2811100890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "In an Objective Manner and Without Prejudice"]

[Text] The supporters of Czech and Slovak coexistence will certainly be pleased with the fact that there is an increasing number of articles in the Prague press that describe the situation in Slovakia in an unbiased manner and without historical prejudice. The largest step in this direction was taken by PRACE, which reported the events and the atmosphere at the Bratislava meeting—commemorating the November revolution one year

ago—in an undistorted and sincere manner. This should not surprise us much if we realize that this daily has its reporter in Bratislava.

The leading article in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE deserves particular attention because it openly spelled out reasons for the existence of problems in Czech and Slovak relations. In contrast to the "Castle daily" LIDOVE NOVINY—constantly picking on Prime Minister Meciar—the daily of the Czechoslovak People's Party admits that "the key to a federation that would not be shaken and threatened by constant nationalistic provocations is not only in the hands of Slovaks, but also in the hands of Czechs." In the author's opinion "the escalated Slovak nationalism is caused mainly by the stereotyped thinking of the Czechs, who, since the times of the first republic, see Slovaks as an immature nation only. Slovaks simply have a feeling that Czechs do not seriously think of them as of a nation and that they do not treat them as an equal partner. This feeling is not unfounded."

The above quoted opinions are not unique in the Czech milieu, even if they cannot be considered to be prevailing opinions about the so-called Slovak question. For the Slovak political representatives the standpoints adopted by Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart are of crucial importance. Petr Pithart stated in the daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that "the Czech public is not well informed about the problems connected with the federation. The main reason for this situation is not because the Czech public does not have enough information about this problem, but because the Czech public does not think it is a real problem. Czech journalists, in this respect, share the opinion of the Czech public." Even more important is the standpoint of the Czech prime minister that Slovaks cannot be deprived of the right to secede from the federation.

Self criticism in the Czech milieu makes the federation stronger and should inspire Slovaks to rethink their attitude toward Czechs. If an overwhelming majority supports the idea of federative coexistence, then it should help us openly speak about obstacles in our relations. If Prime Minister Pithart is willing to admit that "the idea of the Czech statehood is very foggy, because this idea has been partially put in practice by the existence of the common state," then we should also have the courage to admit that those who push for the independence of the Slovak nation against the will of the majority also have a somewhat foggy feeling of responsibility for the fate of the Slovak nation.

Party Leader Satisfied With Slovak Elections

LD2811181690 Prague CTK in English 1616 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 28 (CTK)—Satisfaction with the results of the November 23-24 local elections in Slovakia was voiced by Chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) civic movement Fedor Gal at a press conference here today.

VPN, the strongest Slovak force in the June parliamentary elections, ended second in the locals in which it won 20.4 per cent of seats on the local government. The elections were won by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) with 27.4 per cent of seats. In the parliamentary elections, KDH placed second.

Fedor Gal said that VPN had stressed several times that the aim of the local elections is not victory, but election of people qualified both morally and professionaly for their posts. This was confirmed also by KDH representatives and those of the Democratic Party (DS) which ended ninth in the locals (was sixth in parliamentary balloting). VPN, KDH AND DS make up the Slovak coalition government.

The VPN chairman said that most varied natural coalitions were formed in the local elections. People in small towns and villages were able for the first time to choose personalities whom they know. In bigger towns people do not know one another as well as in smaller communities and therefore preferred choosing political parties and movements.

Fedor Gal labelled as "encouraging" the fact that the separatist "Slovak National Party" (SNS) won only 3.2 per cent of seats which means that at the local level, it is practically ceasing to exist as a political force to be counted with. "The public reacted to its manifestations of nationalism with full responsibility and political maturity," Gal noted.

According to Gal, the elections results showed that a functional and flexible structure of the VPN should be built in order to turn it in the future into a well-functioning movement also at the lower level.

CPSL Session Discusses Returning Party Property

AU2811144990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Peter Misur report: "Apropos the Law on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's Property"]

[Text] Bratislava (from our own editor)—The reason for convening an—in essence—extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, held in Bratislava yesterday, was the approval of a constitutional law on the return of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [KSCS] property to the CSFR people. This law was adopted by the Federal Assembly last week. Communist deputies also participated in this—in its own way—consultative meeting on the current situation in and the tasks facing the CPSL.

According to the introductory speech delivered by Peter Weiss, the party's chairman, it is possible to perceive the adoption of the law as "a frontal onslaught by the right wing which inhibits the left wing as a whole." It is necessary to see an attempt to liquidate the party behind the adoption of this law. Not only has the party not perished, it is even coming up with its own alternative

proposals for economic reform and is presenting them to the state authorities. Several consequences have become apparent from the law—which not only contradicts constitutional law No. 100/1990, but also the law on political parties and the Federal Assembly Presidium legal measure adopted on 18 May 1990—although its executive code has not yet been prepared. Apart from the facts already known about the expropriation of party property, the wording of the law means that the party may find itself in debt to the tune of hundreds of millions of korunas. The method of the law's execution also leaves the door open for the criminalization of individuals. It is also possible to abuse the paragraph which demands the expropriation of the party's archives, including membership records. It will be impossible to prevent their possible misuse. According to P. Weiss, not even these contradictions contained in the adopted law could provide scope for attempts to preserve the property at any price. It will simply be necessary to settle property issues with the state before 31 January 1991.

An important part of the report concerning the party's future is also associated with this issue. Peter Weiss expressed his support for the tabling of a question concerning the party's name—which as of 1 December will officially be CPSL-Party of the Democratic Left—at the next CPSL Central Committee session in December. He supported the idea of debates in the membership base about this issue. He suggested that the first part of the party's name be dropped in order to support the culmination of its reform.

P. Weiss also devoted a small part of his speech to PRAVDA. He stated that the Central Committee has ceded its right to publish PRAVDA and NOVE SLOVO to the PEREX joint stock company founded by the editors of both publications. PRAVDA and NOVE SLOVO will thus become independent left-wing newspapers. According to him, it is impossible to regard PRAVDA as the property of the membership base. It must be regarded as "a partner of the whole party with whom it is necessary to cooperate."

Secretary Jan Siroky then expressed his opinions about some of the consequences of the constitutional law. He emphasized that the executive principles of the law, which CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko will submit to the CSFR Government on 15 December, will be vital for the actual impact of the law. He mentioned, among other things, the need to economize on the operation of the apparatus at all levels, and he announced the abolition of the Institute for Social and Political Theory as a legal entity.

The subsequent discussion mostly reflected the issues raised; these issues far from centered around property alone. S. Zeman, director of the Institute for Social and Political Theory, focused on the future intellectual potential of this workplace and, at the same time, announced the establishment of the V. Clementis Foundation. P. Sitanyi, editor in chief of PRAVDA, spoke about PRAVDA's future which its editorial collective sees as having a "broad left-wing character." P. Kanis, chairman of the KSCS Federal Council, also outlined his ideas for the party's present and future. He appealed for an awareness about the current historical situation in which the party is becoming abnormally absorbed in itself. During other contributions to the discussion, it was announced that preparatory committees for the Party of Socialist Orientation and the Party for Communist Renewal have been established. In this connection, Peter Juza suggested that an extraordinary party congress be convened next year to deal with the issues that have been raised. This suggestion, however, was rejected by a majority of votes. District representatives mostly devoted themselves to proposals for improving the party's organizational work and to the situation before and after the elections. In his closing remarks P. Weiss expressed the need to discuss all the issues raised in district organizations.

In its adopted resolution the CPSL Central Committee requests the CPSL district committees to pay attention to cooperating with state organs in implementing the constitutional law on returning party property to the people of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. It gave P. Weiss, party chairman, the task of convening a regular CPSL Central Committee meeting—with the presence of Federal Assembly and Slovak National Council deputies and CPSL district committee chairmen—during the second half of December 1990. It gave the CPSL Central Committee the task of organizing a seminar in December involving CPSL district committee chairmen to discuss restructuring the party's organizational structure and to deal with the issue of the abolition of the Institute for Social and Political Theory. In harmony with a CPSL resolution adopted at the Presov congress, it gave CPSL district committees the task of informing the membership base about the proposal to change the party's name.

Slovak Government Coalition Accord Questioned

AU2811140590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Nov p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Will the Accord Reinforce the Internal Cohesion of the Government? A Well-Meant Step"]

[Text] Finally an accord was reached on the arrangement of mutual relations between the coalition partners—an accord that should contribute not only to the internal stability of the Slovak Government, but also to the successful relief of the internal political tension. Representatives of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Democratic Party agreed to certain "rules of the game," something that the public perceives as a resolution that the natural differences of opinion will not be dealt with by crisis means. Hence, there should be no case like the Andras affair or similar controversies, which affected the cohesion of Meciar's cabinet.

If all the participants took this step with good intentions, then it strengthened the position of the Slovak Government in its relations to the federal administration including its "Castle patrons." It is possible that some Prague circles will take exception to the fact that the signatories of the accord recognize the federative state as the "present form of state-legal arrangement of the relationship of the Czech and Slovak nations." The quoted passage manifests above all the input by the KDH, and it could increase the sensitivity of the Czech environment which usually reacts in the extreme when a shadow of doubt is cast on the definitive character of Czechoslovak statehood. The formulation might seem to be problematic that the Slovak political representation accepted the federation for the present, while its goal is the economic autonomy of the Slovak Republic.

A peculiar item in the accord is an article which allows for a demonstrable claim of incompetence of a "certain member of the government." An ordinary citizen must perceive this as an admission that in appointing Meciar's cabinet, the aspirants selected for the ministerial posts were not always sufficiently professionally capable of performing the responsible duties of constitutional officials. This statement should not be understood as an impolite invective but rather as proof that the request for professionalization does not apply only to the parliament deputies, although perhaps the criteria for the government members are more strict.

In the context of the last meeting of the Slovak National Council, the article of the coalition agreement is particularly topical, which specifies that even the deputy clubs of the coalition partners will follow the rules listed therein. This was demonstrated to us by some KDH deputies who made Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar a target of their comments as if they sat in the benches of the opposition. While this article does not concern constructive criticism and comments addressed to the prime minister, it does concern the political implications of some addresses which leaked to the public. Some articles in the party press appear to similarly cast doubt on the cohesion of the government for they apply sharper words to the coalition partners than to the representatives of the opposition.

Nationalism of Slovak National Party Examined

AU2111114890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Democracy Still Does Not Have the Right of Domicile in the CSFR; Totalitarianism in National Colors"]

[Text] Saturday's demonstration in the Bratislava Slovak National Uprising Square proved that democracy still does not have the right of domicile in the CSFR. It is a result of the activities of the radical nationalists who, by their intolerance and primitive aggressiveness, do not provide a very good image even of their own political culture. Above all, they thoroughly besmirch the Slovak National Party because it endeavors to assume the role of the most consistent defender of Slovaks' rights and demands. Slovak National Party activists were distributing a flier to the participants of the demonstration, in which the government coalition was described as a "new totalitarianism." There is, however, a much more tangible basis for the claim that the vulgar manner in which the Slovak National Party adherents present their demands is an expression of this new totalitarianism. I would not even be surprised if the European press wrote with disrespect about Slovakia and Slovaks, if it did not differentiate between them and the conduct of the Slovak National Party adherents at the Bratislava demonstration mentioned earlier.

The public actions of the Slovak National Party bear too close a resemblance to the atmosphere of the Nazi meetings in the early 1930s before Adolf Hitler assumed power in Germany, or of the communist demonstrations in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s, when similarly manipulated crowds vented their base social instincts and political passions. Slovak National Party politics divided Slovaks into a militant minority—which threatens the democratic rights of the majority—and this majority described by the nationalists as ill-wishers of the Slovak people. Objectively considered, this policy harms Slovaks the most, for it disperses the social energy needed for dealing with the acute problems inherited from the past totalitarian regime. Moreover, there is no objective advantage for the Slovak National Party either, because it degrades the party to the status of a political pariah in its relationship to the potential political allies on the Slovak political stage. For example, the democratically cultivated leader of the Christian Democrats, Jan Carnogursky certainly would not dream of a coalition partnership with the Slovak National Party leadership as long as they are unable to discipline their followers.

The nationalists derive their chances from the fact that the dominating force of the government coalition—Public Against Violence movement—has not managed to articulate sufficiently the national needs in their political program. Actually, only Prime Minister Meciar picked up his share of this burden, thus the Slovak National Party seized the opportunity to manipulate the dissatisfaction of the citizens, who compensate for the feeling of social danger by a national grudge. The radical nationalists get the most mileage from the fact that some proceedings by the coalition partners employ practices of the regime before 17 November 1989. Moreover, they benefit from the policy of the Pragocentrist bureaucracy, particularly from its inability to differentiate between the objective needs of Slovakia and the separatists' demands. Despite all the aforementioned circumstances, the Slovak National Party leaders should wake up if they do not wish by their politics to bring the nation to a catastrophe.

New Slovak Party Rejects SNS Separatism

AU2611173190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with A. Marko, a representative of the SNS [Society of Normal Slovaks] [Spolocnost Normalnych Slovakov] by Petr Novacek; place and date not given: "Nationalist Yes, Separatist No"—first paragraph is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] At the Czechoslovak Dialogue 90 meeting held in Prace last weekend, a certain Engineer A. Marko stated—to the surprise of the Czech participants—that preparations are under way in Bratislava for the establishment of the Society of Normal Slovaks [SNS] . This party will be federally oriented and will reject the separatism espoused by Moric's Slovak National Party [SNS].

Following the semi-fascist exhibition by Moric's storm troopers in Bratislava's Slovak National Uprising Square on 17 November, we are of the opinion that A. Marko's views—which he acquainted us with in Prace—will contribute toward the Czech and Moravian public's better understanding of complicated Slovak issues.

[Novacek] The SNS,, whose establishment you are preparing, has certain reservations about Moric's SNS. First and foremost, what are they?

[Marko] The SNS won more than 14 percent of the vote in the June elections because its program respected the Czechoslovak Federation. At its congress in Zilina, however, the party moved toward separatism, thus deceiving its voters. It has also betrayed the historical traditions of the SNS which, throughout its existence (1870-1938), was a patriotic and autonomist party; it was never a separatist party. Therefore, our party will have the word normal in front of its name. We are following up on Stur, Stefanik, Hlinka, and Razus—not on Mr. Moric.

[Novacek] I admit that in Bohemia we have not, to date, heard too much about the SNS . Unfortunately, we are hearing more and more about Moric's SNS and these are not—believe me—pleasant reports.

[Marko] V. Moric comes from Martin, that is, from Central Slovakia where the huge armaments plants are currently being abolished. Tens of thousands of people there are oppressed by social insecurity and the SNS is extracting separatist, anti-Czech, and anti-Czechoslovak capital from it. Fewer than one-third of SNS members, as research has shown, desire a Slovak state. The separatist and semi-fascist SNS manifestations—for example, in Ruzomberok, Uhrovce, and Bratislava—have nothing to do with its rank and file members.

[Novacek] From time to time something is said about organized storm troopers. Have you come up against them?

[Marko] Yes. Two or three hundred people are involved. They appear as "flying storm troopers" at all SNS demonstrations throughout Slovakia. They are backed by the National Council for the Liberation of Slovakia. Its leaders F. Kollar and P. Blazko—resident since the war in Munich—have literally organized fascist orgies in Bratislava. Opinions have been aired in the Slovak press, as well as in the German press, that the above-mentioned council—which is specialized in attempts to break up the Czechoslovak state—and also some Slovaks living in the United States and Canada directly finance the extremist elements within the SNS. During the second-to-last visit made by President Havel to Bratislava, someone—apparently—paid each of these loudmouths 180 korunas.

[Novacek] In other words, you want to say that there is only a handful of real extremists in Slovakia and that, as far as Slovak separatism is concerned, we in Bohemia and Moravia are imagining things.

[Marko] None of the many sociological opinion polls has established that more than 10 percent of Slovaks are demanding an independent Slovak state. Not even a plebiscite would reveal a different result. This would only be grist to the mill for separatists. Therefore, we are against a plebiscite. Let me give you some advice: Avoid articles in the Czech press about how much worse off Czechs are because of Slovaks and so on. Moric's party propagates such articles, distributes them following demonstrations, and uses them to whip up anti-Czech passions.

[Novacek] Of course, in certain Slovak newspapers some not very nice things are also written about Czechs. Let us, however, return to your SNS . What kind of ethnic program will it have?

[Marko] I am an old Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] supporter and so, understandably, we will defend the rights of Slovaks in southern Slovakia. We consider Czechs and Slovaks to be very close and fraternal nations which should like each other, help each other, and live in a federative Czechoslovak state. We fundamentally reject Slovak separatism.

[Novacek] Let me ask one more question: Where do you think the SNS will find supporters for its program?

[Marko] Half of those who currently support the SNS could vote for us in the next parliamentary elections. Roughly half of the Christian Democratic Movement's supporters—those who disagree with J. Carnogursky who, in essence, is oriented toward the same aim as V. Moric—could also be added to our vote. This will happen very slowly and very quietly.

Economic Minister's Remarks Not Well-Considered

Presidium Sends Objection Letter

LD2911195190 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 29 (CTK)—The Slovak Government Presidium has written to the Czechoslovak Government that if Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy

spoke for the whole Federal Government on the television last night it "will have to take a stand and take necessary steps."

In a two-paragraph letter made available to CTK today the Slovak Government presidium asked the Federal Government presidium whether the minister spoke for himself or expressed the opinion of the government and whether the Czechoslovak Government identified itself with his statement.

After his failure to persuade Slovak partners that the Czechoslovak sections of the pipelines carrying Soviet oil and gas to western and southern Europe should remain under the control of one company Dlouhy said yesterday that in some Slovak politicians "political and personal ambitions have begun to prevail over economic ones" and called this "irresponsible conduct."

The Slovak Government did not say what steps it would take.

Havel Answers Students' Questions

LD2911233990 Prague CTK in English 2150 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel admitted to students here tonight that Federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy's remark on the attitude of Slovak ministers to the question of the future of the oil and gas pipelines running across Czechoslovakia was not well-considered.

Havel met with Bratislava University students at the end of the first day of his two-day working visit to Slovakia.

Havel said that Dlouhy wanted to defend the concept of a single pipeline as studies he has at his disposal support it. But Slovak ministers have their own concept on division of the pipelines (into two separate parts—Czech and Slovak) for which they, too, have their own expertise.

The president was also asked to comment on his statement in the federal parliament on September 17 in which he took issue with the incorporation of the right to withdraw from the federation in the Czech and Slovak national constitutions (now being drafted), which aroused strong disagreement in Slovakia.

Havel voiced the view that the individual constituent parts of a federal or confederal state have the right to withdraw from it, but this right must ensue from the natural right to a change of the constitution, from a provision on a referendum on the question which should be embedded in the constitution. If this is explicitly stated in the constitution, it arouses doubts about the constitution itself and about the whole state. From the international point of view this gives rise to the feeling as if such a state counted from the very beginning of formulation of its constitution with the provisional and temporary character of its existence, with its changed image in the future. The right to withdrawal stems from the essence of democracy since people make decisions on all questions, including the appearance and set-up of their state, directly, through their representatives, Havel said.

Questions posed to the Czechoslovak president by students concerned also Czechoslovakia's economic and social development in the nearest future. He was asked to comment on the view of low-income strata of the population that the economic situation under the communists was better.

Responding to this, Havel said that in a certain way the situation will be worse than under the communists for some time, but hoped this will not last long.

He noted that the false, illusory certainties will start to break down, but when the economy fully switches over to the market principles tested by centuries, it will start to generate real social certainties which are much bigger in the west than were those in the former communist countries.

The period of transition will be really hard, but it will be necessary to minimize the social impacts of economic reform as much as possible so that young families, pensioners and generally the low-income strata be not hit by them, Havel said.

PRAVDA Outlines Reasons for Break With Party

AU2811125790

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 November on page 1, under the headline "A Message To Our Readers," carries a 500-word explanation by the daily's editorial board on why it is no longer formally the Communist Party of Slovakia's (CPSL) newspaper and has instead become an "independent left-wing daily" published by the Perex joint stock company.

One of the reasons given for this change is that the editorial board is of the opinion that the situation in the press no longer warrants "a narrowly oriented party daily." It adds that as of 1 December 1990 the CPSL will begin using the "double-barrelled" name CPSL—Party of the Democratic Left, thus acknowledging "the idea of the formation of a strong left-wing movement." The newspaper feels that the need for "a more broadly based left-wing daily" has become "all the more urgent" in the Slovak Republic. According to the editorial board, this decision should not be taken to mean that "the Communist Party, its representatives, deputies, and rank and file members or supporters will be left without their newspaper." It concludes its message to readers by stating that the newspaper is in no way "belittling" its resolutions adopted after 17 November 1989 to create "a serious, quality, and as objective as possible newspaper" which people will enjoy reading.

Pittner Outlines His Aims for Police Force

AU2811095090 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 23 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Ladislav Pittner, the newly appointed Slovak interior minister, by Andrej Javorsky; in Bratislava on 22 November—first sentence is VEREJNOST introduction]

[Text] We met the new interior minister immediately after he was appointed.

[Javorsky] You are a lieutenant colonel in the security service; however, in your case, this rank was acquired in connection with your appointment on 15 September 1990 to the post of deputy director of the Federal Interior Ministry Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. At the same time, you come from a family of Czechoslovak Army officers. Therefore, it may be assumed that you have discipline in your blood. How and by which methods do you want to apply this feeling for discipline, on the one hand, in supervising your subordinates' execution of their duty and, on the other hand, in regard to the whole of society and its legal certainties, first and foremost, in regard to citizens' certainties?

[Pittner] In Central Europe we are used to viewing discipline differently from the rest of the democratic world. There is also a certain kind of discipline which, on the outside, operates completely freely and informally; however, this discipline is founded upon internal convictions and an automatic respect for the law. This type of discipline is typical of countries with a democratic tradition. Of course, there is one kind of discipline for all of us—for citizens and for officers in Interior Ministry departments—and that is the discipline of respect for the law. Disrespect for the law must be punished at the very outset because if this were to be tolerated, it could lead to the situation we once had.

[Javorsky] Our second question on the occasion of your appointment is not just a journalistic question. We would also like to convey the feelings of your subordinate officers or—as they are generally called—police officers. Our internal survey of preelection opinions among Interior Ministry staff indicated immense dissatisfaction with the situation in the department you have just taken over. Many police officers have told us that they will not participate in the local elections because they are dissatisfied with the situation in the department, in particular, with the insufficient attention being paid to the conditions of their work. Staff in your department feel that they have been shunted onto another track despite declared intentions.

[Pittner] I suppose that, to a certain extent, they are right. The matter is not as simple as it seems at first glance. In the past, Interior Ministry officers were—in essence—representatives of totalitarian repression which the regime adopted in order to abuse its power for entire decades. This was often at variance with the consciences of many officers in the National Security Corps at that time. Respect for the law and for adhering to the legal code will grow very slowly and gradually. One may say that out of this civil respect, a natural respect will gradually grow for the bearers of authority which, however, will not serve as the whip of repression, but as an institution for the protection of citizens from those who would like to violate their civil rights. From this point of view, a lot will also depend upon the personal attitudes of Interior Ministry officers and on to what extent they will strive to ensure that the public respects them. For example, I have in mind the image of the British "bobby," the British police officer who helps citizens to find their way through city streets and who stops traffic in order to enable physically handicapped or elderly people to cross the road. This is not yet typical in our country; our officers still have the effect of a deterrent and not as a force protecting and assisting citizens. This is also a consequence of our officers' past training. Everyone—citizens and Interior Ministry officers—will, obviously, have to gradually adopt democratic habits, some in order to carry out their duties and others in order to adhere to the law.

[Javorsky] Thank you for the interview.

Public Opinion Results on Safety, Security Forces

AU2911134690 Prague CTK in English 2222 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 27 (CTK)—More than one-half of those surveyed believe that the police (VB) do not provide adequate protection for citizens, according to a poll of 1,292 persons in Slovakia conducted by the Slovak Statistical Office.

Citizens were also critical of judges and public prosecutors, as only one-fifth of the respondents believe that these officials work within the limits of the law. More than one-half the respondents, 53 percent, think that prosecutors and judges actually violate the law in their activities.

Only 41 percent of those questioned feel safe in their homes or in public. Women were substantially more concerned about their safety than men, with older women feeling more threatened than younger women. Crimes committed by amnestied prisoners and Romanies were feared the most, in particular assault, robbery, and apartment burglaries.

Impact of Bush Visit on Foreign Policy Viewed

Horsky Praises Mutal Relationship

AU2111094590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Nov 90 p 5

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "Liberty Bell...for Everyone; On the Results of U.S. President George Bush's Visit to Our Country"]

[Text] The U.S. President's 24-hour visit to our republic, the first in the 72 years of its existence, completed one stage in our mutual relations and started a new one.

The results of his talks with our officials can be divided into two spheres—an economic one and a foreign policy one. If we wanted to be mean, we could describe the first, without beating about the bush, as meager—as has, incidentally, also been noticed in the world. After all, $60 million—which, moreover, has yet to be approved by the U.S. Congress—is indeed a "modest gift" as the REUTER agency described it and the unspecified share of the $370 million allocated for support of private enterprise in Hungary, Poland, and the CSFR will not help much either.

This is a result of the American philosophy, which gives preference (especially now, with the United States in great financial difficulties) to private initiative or to assistance within the framework of various international organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF, the OECD, or the EC. It is from these sources that the essential support for the increasingly topical transition to a market economy should be flowing in the years to come. The first swallows have already made their appearance in the form of the agreement on cooperation in telecommunications and the expected cooperation between the Bratislava Automobile Works and General Motors Europe. Once all legislative and financial questions are clarified, there will probably be more such cases of cooperation.

Far more significant, however, were the foreign policy aspects of the visit. Not only did Bush express clearly that he is in favor of the increasingly closer integration of Europe, but he stressed that North America—i.e., the United States and Canada—have an eminent interest in joining this process. This is part and parcel of the realization of the vision of "a new world of freedom, a world born of hope and striding with confidence toward a new century," as the White House chief said in Prague.

Yet there was one more message which resounded from our capital—the message that the United States does not intend to withdraw into isolation, as it did after World War I, also because the idea of a new community of freedom cannot, and must not, stop at the two shores of the Atlantic but must spread to encompass the entire planet. This is why all free, but also other nations must face up to aggression and the trampling underfoot of human rights, liberties, and international law. After all, it is precisely our country, as also G. Bush reiterated, which has had very bad experience with concessions to the aggressor and with a policy of appeasement in the face of acts of aggression. The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and the uncompromising attitude of the international community toward the occupation are, so to speak, the acid test of the reaction to this challenge from the aggressor to the new prospects for the world.

As the cradle of modern history, our continent, Europe, must set an example as the prototype of this vision. The foundations for this will be laid at the summit of the 34 CSCE signatory states which is starting in Paris today. During his visit G. Bush repeatedly endorsed the candidacy of Prague as the seat of the planned CSCE permanent secretariat, which, together with other agencies, should institutionalize the all-European process.

The American guest could not fail to mention also our large eastern neighbor which had until recently decisively influenced the events in Czechoslovakia and the other countries of Central and southeastern Europe. He stressed that the time has come for the USSR to become fully involved in all international institutions, particularly economic and financial institutions, and that this will mark the end of the cold war and make Moscow a full-fledged and fully accepted partner in the implementation of the vision of the community of freedom.

Bush's visit to Prague set the switches for the future. The shaping of this future will depend on the determination not only of states but also of groups and individuals. The liberty bell must first beat inside each of us. Only the realization of this fact will make it possible for its sound to be heard throughout the planet.

Kramer Examines Financial Aid

AU2111104290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Nov 90 p 1

[Alexandr Kramer commentary: "It Is Written: Help Yourself and..."]

[Text] It is Sunday [18 November] morning and, as I am writing these lines, the engines of the special Boeing U.S. Air Force One already thunder on the runway of the old Ruzyne Airport. The last handshakes, the traditional look back and wave of hand from the gangway and the colossus will take off—U.S. President George Bush's visit to Czechoslovakia will become history.

The reception which we accorded to the American guest may have raised the question, in some minds: Did we not simply swap one big brother for another one? It is true that we have grown accustomed to a certain style and a certain vocabulary, that a servile attitude lingers on in many of us? Still, I do not believe that we are in acute danger of a relapse into history. This time, there are two antitoxins working against the disease—the first is our democracy, the other, American democracy. These are strong vaccines but I admit that they do not guarantee 100-percent immunity.

The highlights of the U.S. President's program in Prague, at least from the viewpoint of the public, were his two speeches: in the Federal Assembly and in Wenceslas Square. The second was unusually flowery and, as tends to be the case on similar occasions, the richer in metaphors and quotes it was, the less specific information it contained. In spite of this, it was an exceedingly significant speech. Pathos is binding, grand words are always followed by expectations of deeds. If a politician of George Bush's stature tells a crowd of 100,000 people,

"America is with you," the words are certainly not said thoughtlessly; populism of this sort usually does not pay in democratic conditions.

As a matter of fact, in his speech to the parliament President Bush also spoke about specific deeds—the first and, let us hope, not the last ones. Two questions come to mind: Is the aid which the United States wants to extend to us sufficiently large? Was it not possible to start with it a bit earlier?

There are many answers to the second question. First of all, the United States has already started helping us in many ways. Second, as is generally known, it was us who initially proudly and, apparently, also wisely turned down direct financial aid. Meanwhile, however, the circumstances have changed to such a degree that pride may soon become an unaffordable luxury for all of us. Third—and this, too, is a more than public secret—we ourselves have failed so far to create necessary conditions for foreign investment, which is a mutually beneficial and therefore also dignified variant [of foreign aid]. Surely, there could have been a bit less caution and bureaucracy also on the part of our new friends and, possibly, a bit fewer graduated conditions....

The crucial factors limiting the volume of aid from overseas are, however, of predominantly two sorts—the United States' own enormous needs and the large number of other outstretched arms pushing aside our arm.

Let us turn our glance away from the recent past, toward the near future. It seems that aid "on a large scale" is already under way. Will it be large enough to put us back on our feet?

If we have in mind some enterprises and, possibly, entire branches, we can, probably, reply in the affirmative. If we mean by "us" our economy as such, the answer is a clear "no." Even if this aid were to be comparable to that which the United States already provides to its traditional proteges—and it will not be even a fraction of it—it could not redeem us. Incidentally, why should it? Everyone must redeem himself, be it an individual or a state.

It is written: Help yourself and America will help you.

Soviet General Says No Chemical Weapons Present

LD2911222390 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—Members of the Czechoslovak parliamentary commission supervising the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia were assured by Soviet General Gennadiy Proposhchev today that the biggest Soviet ammunition depot in Czechoslovakia would be cleared by March 1991.

General Proposhchev, deputy chief of staff of the Central Group of the Soviet Army, said that the depot at Kvetna, East Bohemia, contained 58,000 tonnes on January 1, 1990, of which some 20 per cent are still to be removed.

The general said no chemical ammunition was stored either at Kvetna or at any other locality in Czechoslovakia. This is not true, however, of Soviet nuclear weaponry which was kept in Czechoslovakia at places destined for it by the then Czechoslovak Government. At present, Soviet nuclear grenades are no longer in Czechoslovak territory, the general said.

Member of the parliamentary commission Miroslav Sychra spoke to CTK today about questions concerning compensation for the damage caused to Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops during their stay in its territory since August 1968.

According to Sychra, intensive talks lasting 15 work days were conducted on the issue at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry which ended in a compromise yesterday. It was agreed to switch the compensation talks from the level of government representatives to the level of governments and to conclude an international agreement which would embrace all aspects of the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

It is not clear how the Soviet side will compensate for the damage, Sychra said.

According to him buildings which are the property of the Soviet Army with Czechoslovak consent will be sold by the Soviet side. So-called "black" builders will have to be pulled down or sold as building material, Sychra said.

Ministry Expresses Concern for Citizens in Iraq

LD2911212390 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—"The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is following the fate of Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq with continuous and growing concern, and is continuing maximum efforts for their speedy return home," reads a statement from the Foreign Affairs Ministry obtained today by CTK.

The ministry said that all possible peaceful solutions must be tried, including political, economic, and diplomatic means. If these should fail, a military conflict would be inevitable, with unpredictable consequences, including the loss of lives.

According to the latest information, all Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq are well and are not threatened by any immediate danger.

CPCZ Chairman Sends Letter to Iraqi President

AU3011143790 Prague CTK in English 0904 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—"Tens of thousands of innocent people including women and children might fall victim to the use of terrible weapons," chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Pavol Kanis said in his letter addressed to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

The letter, published by the left wing daily RUDE PRAVO today, has been handed over to the Iraqi ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Kanis stresses the significance of negotiations and a peaceful solution and appreciates the fact that Iraq has already released hundreds of detained foreigners, including Czechoslovaks.

"There are still several dozens of Czechoslovak citizens in your country who have not been allowed to return home to their families. We are of the opinion that your attitude has been considerably influenced by the Czechoslovak government's decision to send a military antichemical unit to Saudi Arabia.... You should take into consideration that the detained Czechoslovak citizens have nothing in common with this decision and that they came to Iraq before November 1989.... Our party is willing to help solve the problem of the return of innocent persons in the spirit of humanity and traditional friendship between the peoples of our countries," the chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party said in his letter.

CTK Previews Calfa's 1-5 Dec Maghreb Tour

LD2911153590 Prague CTK in English 1349 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—In spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy concentrates in the current stage on the return to Europe and relations to super powers it does not neglect the so-called Third World countries. This will be demonstrated by Prime Minister Marian Calfa's tour of three Arab states—Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia—on December 1-5.

It is the first trip of the Czechoslovak prime minister, who was appointed to the function in December 1989, not only to the African continent but also to the developing countries.

Calfa's visit illustrates the new contents and dynamism of Czechoslovakia's foreign political orientation. He will not visit Libya which was for the former Czechoslovak communist regime the closest ideological ally and economic partner in the Maghreb area. Due to Al-Qadhdhafi's extremism and his support for international terrorism Czechoslovakia's foreign policy logically excluded the country from its priorities in spite of the fact that today in the difficult energy situation it would welcome Libya's repayment of former debts by oil supplies.

Czechoslovakia has been traditionally supporting the resistance movement of Algeria and Tunisia against the French colonial hegemony. Therefore after Tunisia's declaration of independence in 1959 Czechoslovakia was one of the first states to recognize it and establish diplomatic contacts, as well as in the case of Algeria in 1962. In view of Algeria's gradual "socialist orientation" Czechoslovak former regime's interest in this country was stronger which was reflected in the intensity of political and economic relations.

In bilateral contacts with Morocco Czechoslovakia traditionally applied its formulations on "mutually beneficial relations between countries with different social systems". Even the dispute connected with the future of Wire Sahara did not violate Czechoslovakia's relations to Algeria and Morocco despite the two countries' different views. Czechoslovakia has been maintaining diplomatic relations with Morocco since the declaration of its independence in 1956. It has not yet recognized the existence of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic which Morocco considers its part.

The forthcoming visit of Marian Calfa to these countries relies on good traditional relations and identical attitudes condemning the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and efforts at a peaceful solution of the Gulf crisis. the visit is expected to promote the development of trade and economic relations. Czechoslovakia is interested above all in oil and natural gas supplies from Algeria and fertilizers from Morocco and Tunisia. On the other hand it can apply its technologies in the consumer industry, agriculture and the energy sphere in these three Arab states and send Czechoslovak experts there to help the development of health care, water system and various projects.

Calfa Comments on Economic Talks With FRG

LD2911231190 Prague Television Service in Czech 2118 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpts] A welcoming ceremony in front of the FRG Chancellery was followed by official talks between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Marian Calfa. [passage omitted] At a news conference, Marian Calfa answered a question from Czechoslovak Television.

[Begin Calfa recording, in Slovak] I have met Chancellor Kohl twice already, but each time only for a very short meeting and on two different occasions. The difference between the previous meetings and this one is that this time we discussed a comprehensive range of problems between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, including a comprehensive range of economic problems. [words indistinct] We spoke about our relationship to Germany and the European Communities. I touched upon it in one sentence.

We were extraordinary interested also in the question of the relationship betwen Czechoslovak enterprises and the enterprises which are now in Germnay, located on the territory of the former GDR. We put forward an idea that an internal German view on what to do with the enterprises on the territory of the former GDR should also reflect the fact that in some industry branches very close cooperation existed with Czechoslovak enterprises. It is not a simple issue. The payment situation has totally changed now. Nevertheless, Chancellor Kohl showed understanding of Czechoslovakia's situation. We are going to look for a solution to this problem on some kind of a tripartite basis. [end recording]

Finland Considers Aid To Support Changes

AU3011144390 Prague CTK in English 1312 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Finland could grant Czechoslovakia a credit of $50-100 million to support structural changes in the country's economy, Finnish Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio told newsmen here today at a press conference held at the end of his official visit to Czechoslovakia.

He also said that the concrete sum will be discussed by Czechoslovak and Finnish representatives and assured the Czechoslovak side that Finland will send its experts to the country. The Finnish minister pointed to an agreement on free trade which has been concluded between the two countries and mentioned financial assistance to Czechoslovakia aimed at improving its environment which is being considered at present by the Scandinavian states.

The Finnish foreign minister, who will leave here for New York to take part in a session of the UN Security Council on the Persian Gulf situation, described his talks with the Czechoslovak leadership as very positive. He said that a number of topics dealt with concerned the Gulf crisis and underlined that Finland would prefer a peaceful solution to the conflict but admitted that the Iraqi Government has not yet agreed to any compromise and thus complicates the situation very much.

Commenting on the current problem of refugees, Pertti Paasio said that a big east-west migration might bring about many problems.

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Finnish Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio ended his three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for New York today.

Bod: Soviets 'More Willing To Cooperate'

LD2911125590 Budapest MTI in English 1034 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 28 [date as received] [MTI]—Peter Akos Bod, minister of trade and industry, has held talks in Moscow on Hungarian-Soviet economic relations.

On Wednesday, Bod told a Budapest press conference that he had held talks in the Soviet energy and engineering office and various ministries on Monday and Tuesday [26-27 November], and with leaders of the Russian Federation on Wednesday. No agreements were signed since another Hungarian Government delegation will leave for Moscow in two weeks time to discuss the rules of transition to accounting in convertible currency.

The ministers stressed that the Soviets invariably showed a keen interest in the changes in Hungary. What is more, the reform committee is marked by a very strong Hungarian "lobby", he added.

Concerning his talks with the leaders of the Russian Federation, Bod said the largest Soviet republic obviously sought to cooperate with the Hungarians and the list of Hungarian products they would buy was very long. There is no obstacle to the deliveries but appropriate forms of payment and accounting should be devised, he said.

The Soviets are expected to fulfill the agreement on electricity deliveries until the year 2000. Prospects of natural gas supply are also favourable. The parties raised the idea of oil exploration by Hungarian-Soviet joint ventures. Third parties, for instance Shell, could also be involved since almost 1,000 filling stations are out of action in the Soviet Union, Bod said.

The Soviets are more willing to cooperate than expected, the minister said. The transformation of the Soviet agricultural complexes into market-oriented farms, may open up new vistas of cooperation, Bod said.

CSFR Ambassador on Minorities, Language Law

AU2711134790 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Nov 90 p 6

[Interview with Rudolf Chmel, CSFR ambassador to Budapest, by Peter Lovasz; place and date not given: "The Important Issues Are the Ones That Link Us, Not the Ones That Divide Us"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Not everything is alright in Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations; however—on the basis of the historical links between our two countries, and considering the current situation—to an outside observer, a deeper and wider cooperation would seem more natural. Following the recent passing of the language law in Slovakia, some extremist groups lost their temper. The Bos-Nagymaros water dam project is still a moot point in Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations. Following the petering out of CEMA, changed trade relations have still not shown an increase. We could list a series of problems.... We asked Rudolf Chmel about changing Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, and about the future prospects of our bilateral relations.

[Lovasz] Mr. Chmel, the solving of the national minority issue has a significant influence on the relations between our two countries, and particularly on Hungarian-Slovak relations. Is there any chance of the national minorities in both countries peacefully "finding their place," and bringing our countries closer together rather than dividing us, once we have solved the problem?

[Chmel] The national minority problem can only be solved on a democratic basis, through democratic principles which are binding for both the minority and the majority. Moreover, every single aspect of the life of a national minority can only be measured in European terms nowadays, whether that be language usage, education, cultural activities, or any other problem. In light of all this, I think that Hungarian fears are a bit exaggerated, and it may well be that they are sometimes stirred up on purpose. Slovakia has exactly the same aim as Hungary: We want to become European. I would like to stress, once again, that, in this case, there can be no division of rights according to majority or minority status, or according to national colors. [passage omitted]

[Lovasz] What do you think about the waves of protest that met the passing of the Slovak language law?

[Chmel] I personally observed that, from the very beginning, Hungary paid a great deal of attention to the elaboration and passing of the Slovak language law. A paradoxical situation arose, whereby even official circles in Hungary tended to believe that this law was actually superfluous, and that it discriminated against the Hungarian national minority in Slovakia; at the same time, in Slovakia, this same law led to a nationalist wave of resistance, because some people believed that the law discriminated against Slovaks—especially in rural areas inhabited mainly by Hungarians—in Southern Slovakia.

Personally, I would vote for bilingualism, which would be the most productive solution, allowing the national minority to express its (dual) identity; that is true both from a civic and a state point of view—that is, from an individual as well as a collective point of view—and most of all, from the point of view of practical requirements. All this, of course, supposes that for the national minority, the use of its mother tongue and the other attributes of its minority status represent dominant elements. So far, however, it is actually the case that Slovaks in Hungary speak better Hungarian than they do Slovak. On the other hand, there is a considerable number of Hungarians in Slovakia who do not speak very little Slovak, or even none at all. [passage omitted]

[Lovasz] Given that CEMA is being restructured—or even disbanded—do you see any possibility for the

development of Central European economic integration, followed, perhaps, by political integration at a later stage? [passage omitted]

[Chmel] All of Europe is integrating now, particularly on an economic level. In many cases, however, countries would still like to maintain their individuality on a national level. The more intensive manifestations of national minorities is a consequence of this phenomenon. When considering the future, however, we should speak out in favor of a more moderate and democratic solution: We should not jealously guard national unity or independence, rather, we should create a society which is open and national at the same time. In the context of a pan-European economic boom, and within the framework of democratic cooperation, primitive nationalism will die out. Democracy and modern economic cooperation does not take borders into account. [passage omitted]

CSFR's Calfa, Meciar, Miklosko Postpone Visit

LD2911215590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] The visit to Budapest by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Calfa, Slovak Prime Minister Meciar, and that of Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak Parliament, have been postponed. This was reported by the Foreign Ministry spokesman in our capital. Evelyn Forro reports:

[Forro] There is still a slight possibility that Marian Calfa will pay a visit to Hungary this year. On the other hand, it seems absolutely certain that Vladimir Meciar, and Frantisek Miklosko will not travel to Budapest this year. This is what I could learn from Prague diplomatic circles following the Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman's announcement regarding the postponement of the two visits. The sources, who wished to remain anonymous, disclosed that both visits were called off by the Hungarian side, which referred to internal political reasons. It is probable that the affair is connected with the reshuffle of the Hungarian Government. They emphasized that the postponement of the two visits has no links with the development of Hungarian-Czechoslovak or Hungarian-Slovak relations.

Deputy Speaker Reacts To Recent Roman Statements

AU2911103090 Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 28 Nov (MTI)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's accusations, laid out in his interview in "LA PRENSA" of Argentina, do not correspond to the real situation, Deputy Speaker of the Hungarian parliament Matyas Szuros told the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP."

The correspondent of the daily asked Szuros for his views on the matter, following the Tuesday session of parliament, when an MP of the ruling coalition called upon the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament to reject Petre Roman's statements immediately.

"I agree with the MP's proposal. I think there is no need for a war of statements. At issue is the statement of the Romanian prime minister, it is the Hungarian Government's task to react, if in the event it considers a reaction necessary.

"We do not demand any special rights for the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania. As ethnic minorities are in a disadvantageous position from the outset, if they are to reach a status equal to that of the majority, they have to be granted more rights. The granting of human rights, including minority rights is not a Hungarian but a European issue, supported by the Council of Europe not only in the case of its members but also in countries with observer status.

"We still want to establish friendly ties with Romania. We must negotiate—and it does not matter whether it is on a presidential or government level. What is important is understanding and progress so that we can become good neighbours.

The correspondent of "MAGYAR HIRLAP" has also requested Szuros' opinion about the Romanian Ambassador to Budapest Simion Pop's statements, in which he criticized Hungary's president and prime minister. The statement was carried by the Tuesday issue of the Bucharest daily for young people "TINERETUL LIBER".

"Pop's statement shows that it comes from a writer and not a professional diplomat. He is obviously unfamiliar with the rules of diplomacy. Being the accredited Romanian ambassador to Arpad Goncz, president of Hungary, it is entirely unprecedented that some one of such rank should criticize or even attack the president.

"His statement over the constitutional obligations of the president implies that he would like to instruct the president of the Republic of Hungary in his duties. It is not Pop's task to criticize the president and the prime minister. His responsibility is to provide objective information on the country, doing his best to improve bilateral ties. [no closing quotes as received]

Public Apology Requested From Romanian Envoy

LD2911193890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] During our broadcast, a five-page statement from the Foreign Ministry has come in to MTI. This statement is related to the statement made by Pop, the Romanian ambassador in Budapst. I shall now quote from it.

Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, summoned the ambassador this afternoon and stated that the Hungarian Government is totally at a loss at the fact that, following previous attacks, it now is Romania's ambassador in Budapest who, in full public view, has

addressed personal criticism against the president of the Republic of Hungary and against its prime minister.

The Romanian ambassador has seriously violated all written and unwritten rules of diplomacy. He has lectured to the highest leaders of the Republic of Hungary and gravely insulted the Hungarian people who also seek Romania as a good neighbor. The Hungarian state security stated that without a public apology Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will not receive the Romanian ambassador. Our state secretary has requested that his words be accurately conveyed to the Bucharest government, and he affirmed that while maintaining its principled position, the Republic of Hungary will try, through preserving work, to normalize Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Transylvanian Alliance Wants Minority Rights

AU2711122390 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Nov 90 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Statement of the Transylvanian Alliance"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Transylvanian Alliance supports the Hungarian Government in its decision not to come to an unprincipled compromise with the Romanian Government. The two governments can only get closer to each other if the leadership in Bucharest also accepts the facts—including the large number of Romanian refugees in Hungary—and the Romanian Government cannot be indifferent to their fate.

The Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation demands that the government in Bucharest adjust its policy and efforts to the CSCE requirements and to international agreements stipulating the implementation of human rights, and the Romanian Government should finally settle the issue of Hungarians in Romania in the framework of these requirements.

The Presidium of the Transylvanian Alliance calls upon all the public and cultural organizations in Hungary, as well as the European institutions and the public and cultural organizations of European countries to intensify their efforts against the Romanian Government's policy of limiting individual and collective human rights, and take a stand in favor of self-assertion, equal rights, and legal security of the Hungarians and other ethnic groups in Transylvania. A Europe which has found itself and which is seeking unity cannot afford to allow the political heritage of the former tyranny in Bucharest—violence and deceit—to continue to make the lives of national minorities in Central Europe impossible and to hinder the mutual reconciliation of the nations in Central Europe.

Ministry Expresses Concern About FRG Rail Strike

LD2711133490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The railway strike that has broken out in eastern German territories might endanger the implementation of contracts concluded with former GDR firms.

As was said in the Ministry of International Economic Relations, Hungarian exports to the tune of 100 million rubles and German imports to the tune of 100 million rubles are still due this year; furthermore, the deadline is now especially important because this year it will be possible to use rubles in trade accounting.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With Greece

NC2811181890 Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Text] [Greek] National Economy Under Secretary Yeoryios Papastamkos and Janos Martonyi, Hungarian international economic relations under secretary, signed a protocol of cooperation in Budapest yesterday at the end of the work of the seventh Joint Greek-Hungarian Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation Committee.

The Hungarian side took the opportunity to thank Greece for facilitating its efforts for closer relations with the EC. The two sides agreed to intensify trade exchanges and to pursue new forms of cooperation in the industrial and investments sectors.

MTI Cites Rabar on Submitting Resignation

LD2911114890 Budapest MTI in English 1034 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 28 [date as received] (MTI)—"My decision is final, and nothing will make me withdraw my resignation," Hungarian Minister of Finance Ferenc Rabar told MTI on Wednesday.

The news that Rabar wished to end his dispute with Gyorgy Matolcsy, state secretary of the prime minister's office, by leaving his post was first published by the Wednesday issue of "VILAGGAZDASAG" (World Economy). Rabar and Matolcsy were both interviewed by the press before the government session on Wednesday afternoon.

Matolcsy said their quarrel was of a professional rather than a personal nature. He added that the government needed a three-year economic policy programme envisaging a more rapid introduction of the market economy. To achieve this, taxation should be changed across the board, he said.

Rabar argued that the transformation of taxation would basically require more time. The Ministry of Finance is

also considering reforming taxation but insists on leading up to this with extensive sociological research.

As for the talks conducted with the experts of the international monetary fund, Matolcsy said that an IMF delegation was in the midst of re-reading the government's draft budget for 1991 and the related economic programme. The IMF hopes that the Hungarian economy should undergo a tough period of adjustment, an opinion shared by the Hungarian Government. The differences between the negotiating parties lie in the evaluation of the public capacity to cope with stress and their tolerance of deteriorating living conditions.

Budapest Mayor Resigns Deputy's Mandate

LD2711104190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0908 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Speech by Gabor Demszky, Budapest mayor and Hungarian National Assembly deputy, to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. Speaker [National Assembly Speaker Gyoergy Szabad], esteemed house: When I took my oath between these walls six months ago, together with you, as the National Assembly deputy for Budapest's Erzsebetvaros, I thought that the the creation of the new Hungarian democracy was the appropriate moment, and the pluralist parliament was the appropriate place where I could be most effectively active for the common good while realizing my political ideas. [passage omitted]

For a long time, I have said that I thought parliament was going to be the appropriate place for my work. After all, after a lot of wrangling, I altered my stand and accepted my nomination as mayor of Budapest. I can explain by quoting the words of De Tocqueville once again. [passage omitted]

In principle, everyone approves the self-governments' bigger freedom of operation, their independence. At the same time, to this day in our country, it has not been clarified what it is that the ministries wish to place under the supervision of the so-called deconcentrated organizations and why. [passage omitted]

The clear definition of the self-governments' sphere of tasks has not yet taken place. The law is of a sketchy nature, and, as a result, it is simply impossible to determine what it is that the self-governments can settle, out of what resources, and in what way. I feel a great deal of anxiety, and it makes me uneasy that this will lead not to freedom but, within a short time, to an inability to function. [passage omitted]

All this is because the central legislative and deregulating process is not proceeding at the desired rate. The reform of administrative legal material, containing some 2,000 rules of law, and the building of the new order are proceedings with difficulty. [passage omitted]

On several occasions in the recent past, we heard from these benches the demand—which, incidentally, is totally justified—that we should not allow the self-governments to become the scene of party battles. Now, when I resign my deputy's mandate—which, according to the law, is regrettably incompatible with the post of mayor—ask that, in the interest of maintaining the country's ability to function, you do not take your decisions on the basis of party interests when enacting the laws determining the self-governments' activity. [passage omitted]

Meeting Defines National Defense Principles

LD2811231590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The defense principles of the Hungarian Republic are emphatically of defensive character. The use of armed forces is considered to be an ultimate instrument which can only be applied in the case of hostile enemy aggression. This was stated by participants at a meeting held at the Ministry of Defense devoted to working out the concepts of Hungarian defense.

At the meeting, led by the minister for defense, several members from the parliamentary committees on foreign affairs and defense were present. Security policy experts of the political parties also attended, as well as experts in international law, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior, as well as several generals from the Ministry of Defense who hold leading positions there.

At the drafting of the basic principles, it was noted that Hungary has no fixed image of an enemy. At the same time, there is a determined effort not to create the impression in anyone of being under threat. In peacetime we are planning to retain only sufficient military force for adequate defense.

Defense Minister Lajos Fur emphasized that the determination of the basic principles of defense is not a ministerial nor a party affair, but a national question, above political parties, in which full agreement must be reached. The political part of the new defense concept will be made fully public, because it is a just demand of Hungarian society to know the principles which will ask them to make sacrifices.

Security Guarantees Sought

LD2911115690 Budapest MTI in English 1052 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Budapest, November 28 [date as received] (MTI)—A report on the principles and requirements of the defence of the Republic of Hungary was the topic of an extended session of the College of the Ministry of Defence on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Hungary seeks to establish the guarantees of its security through sound cooperation with other countries and, in the long term, on the basis of an all-European security system.

In peacetime, Hungary only wishes to maintain an armed force required for sufficient defence, making its commitment to self-defence credible, serving as a foundation for successful defensive struggle against an aggressor attacking with a force of the same magnitude, and enabling the country to fulfil its tasks within a cooperative system of international security, the reports says.

Government Accepts 1991 Draft Budget

LD2911121790 Budapest MTI in English 1047 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 28 [date as received] (MTI)—In its Wednesday session, the government discussed and accepted the draft state budget for next year. The government projected a budget deficit of 78,000 million forints. It considered the third phase of wage increases for health workers, and an additional pay rise over 20 percent for teachers. To cover these expenses, the government proposed cutting the separate state funds and investments.

The government held a consultation on these items with the experts of the International Monetary Fund currently staying in Hungary.

Central Statistical Office on Manpower Situation

AU2911201990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Nov 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Central Statistical Office Report—The Electric Power Industry Is an Exception"]

[Text] As expected, the number of people employed in all the industrial sectors has decreased by an average of 10 percent during the current year. A very slight increase in the number of employees has only been registered in the electric power industry. All this transpires from the latest report of the Central Statistical Office.

The fact that many people retired, most of them before retirement age, has greatly contributed to the decrease in the number of workers in Hungary. Thus, 37 percent of workers employed in industry age between 40 and 54.

The most conspicuous change took place in the mining industry and in metallurgy. The manpower decrease was the highest among all the other industrial branches in these areas. This year's statistics show that the number of workers employed in the aforementioned two industrial sectors make up only 83.5 percent and 81.4 percent respectively of their number in January-August 1989. The fact that the former opportunity for high salaries no longer exists has probably also played a role in this. The gross monthly average salary in the aforementioned industrial branches stood at 15,788 and 13,290 forints respectively in 1989. Taking into consideration the statistical data for 1989, the number of people who left their jobs in these two industrial sectors was almost double the number of people who took up jobs here. This decrease in staff has been going on for years, and we expect an even more striking picture by the end of this year.

What about the electric power industry? This is the only sector that shows a slight increase in employees, but only two percent. About 30.8 percent of the workers in this sector are between 30 and 39 years of age, and 35 percent of the workers are in the 40-54 age bracket.

Of all the industrial sectors, the lowest average monthly gross salaries were paid in the light industry; workers here received a net pay of 8,868 forints. Salaries are similarly low in the engineering and building material branches, compared to other industrial sectors.

Government Issues Existence Fund Decree

LD2911114190 Budapest MTI in English 1032 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government issued a decree on the "E" (existence) Fund, aimed at promoting the privatization of state-owned property, and the establishment of private ventures.

The fund is coordinated by the national office for the promotion of small ventures. The fund derives its support from a German loan for the purpose, a refinancing credit zone from the National Bank of Hungary, and other domestic and foreign contributions.

The "E" Fund is a source of credit for private individuals who wish to purchase state property, whose creditworthiness is guaranteed by a bank, who have an individual entrepreneur's certificate, and who undertake to set up a business association or cooperative to run the purchased property.

The credit granted to a single person cannot exceed 50 million forints. The applicants must have some funds of the own, too. The expiry date ranges from six to ten years. The interest is equivalent to 75 per cent of the basic interest from the bank of issue, to which the crediting bank may add another 4-per-cent interest.

Sejm To Decide on Mazowiecki Resignation 29 Nov

LD2811193790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Report from the Sejm building by Andrzej Jelenski]

[Text] The next three-day Sejm sitting starts tomorrow [29 November]. Today, parliamentary floor groups are deliberating at the Sejm building on Wiejska Street. The greatest interest surrounds the meeting of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP], which has literally been beseiged by observers, journalists, and photojournalists. OKP Chairman Mieczyslaw Gil said that, in addition to issues connected with the forthcoming Sejm meeting, the resignation of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government would be discussed. Information was given on today's meeting of the Council of Elders, at which it is being decided whether, in connection with the arrival of a letter from the prime minister to the Sejm speaker informing him of the resignation, the House will accept the resignation at tomorrow's meeting. They could also decide that a government report on its over a year-long activity should first be submitted, then a Sejm debate take place, and then the resignation could be accepted. According to information given by the OKP, the Council of Elders meeting decided that a report should first be presented on the cabinet's activities and only then should the house make a decision on accepting the resignation. During OKP discussions, it was stressed that deputies might also take a different decision at tomorrow's meeting. For example, they might agree to the immediate acceptance of the resignation.

The OKP meeting is in progress. A meeting between the floor group and Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, candidate for president of the Polish Republic, has been announced for 2030 [1930 GMT].

Sejm Postpones Debate

LD2911125190 Warsaw PAP in English 1122 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Having heard a letter from Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in which he asked the Sejm (lower house) to dismiss the Council of Ministers, the house decided here today to postpone debate on the issue.

In this way the Sejm agreed with the opinion of the convention of seniors that the cabinet resignation should be considered when the government submits a report on its activity to the Sejm.

Until the Sejm passes its decision on the issue, the Council of Ministers will perform its constitutional and statutory duties.

Electorate Warned Against Tyminski's Promises

AU2611121590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Janina Paradowska: "Scandal"]

[Text] When asked whether he had thought of running for the Polish presidency, Zbigniew Brzezinski is reported to have replied that he had not done anything for Poland which would entitle him to stand for such high office.

Nevertheless, Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski, citizen of Canada, Poland, and Peru—for the vast majority of Poles "an unknown"—decided to run for the presidential post. Until now, Stan Tyminski has had success with his campaign. A total unknown, shrouded in the aura of a millionaire—a man who had made it and knows how to make big money—he quickly gained popularity. Nobody took Tyminski's candidacy seriously, but, in a surprisingly quick time he managed to collect his necessary 100,000 signatures, a feat that eluded even some very well-known personalities on the Polish political scene.

Mr. Tyminski returned to a Poland which has totally changed. He knows nothing of the country's Constitution, but he aspires to be its president. We really know nothing about Tyminski. He has fed us with selective bits of his past and tales of his fortune in Peru and Canada. In his election campaign ("I have only three weeks to gain the confidence of the nation and I shall do it"—he stated in his first press conference), he promises that in three years Poland will be an affluent land and even after one month the Poles will feel a noticeable improvement in their living conditions. The only condition is that we accept the guidelines that are stated in his book.

During the course of his campaign, Mr. Tyminski began to attract a growing number of supporters and has amassed significant electoral support in an astoundingly short time. Political scientists and sociologists only began to notice Tyminski when the opinion polls started to indicate that he was beginning to pass over Tadeusz Mazowiecki and had started to take away votes from Lech Walesa. He really means business, people began to say. The reasons given for his spectacular performance were said to be the following: He is a candidate who does not provoke any violent reactions; he does not have any political enemies; and he is someone whom many people, tired of the Mazowiecki-Walesa rivalry, see as a valid third alternative. If threatened by a potential conflict, says one sociologist, one of the natural human reactions is to reach for a tranquilizer. Stanislaw Tyminski, purportedly the sole "independent" presidential candidate, was perceived by many people as such a "tranquilizer."

On Saturday in Zakopane, the dose of tranquilizer turned into an overdose. Tyminski accused Tadeusz Mazowiecki of betraying the nation. By attacking the prime minister, he has also attacked those people who for years had actively struggled against the totalitarian

system. Other presidential candidates and leaders of other political groupings reacted swiftly and strongly to this accusation. In comparison, the voice of protest raised by the government's spokesperson sounded very feeble indeed. Nonetheless, it needed an accusation of betraying the nation for people to sit up and take notice of the "Tyminski phenomenon." Notwithstanding that for the last two weeks Tyminski has been saying the same thing, but in different words.

In his last television appearance (Monday 19 November), Mr. Tyminski tried to substantiate his accusations by using a document entitled "Directions of Privatization for 1990." This document is not, as Tyminski alleges, a confidential directive from the prime minister to the Sejm marshal. It is a public document which was printed in 500 copies and sent to each parliamentary deputy. It was recently the subject of a parliamentary debate. The figures used by Tyminski are real, except that they mean something completely different to what he alleges they mean. These figures are not the prices at which Polish enterprises are being sold to foreign capital (as Tyminski suggests), but the sale prices for the 1989 production output of these enterprises. Strange coincidence that the businessman, millionaire, financier, and author of an economic rescue program for Poland is incapable of interpreting that document correctly. He is perfectly capable, however, of promising everyone that the crisis will pass very quickly and things will get better. There is one condition attached to all these promises, though, Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski must first become president. Today, when the statements made by this presidential candidate have assumed the proportions of a scandal, I would like to ask the question: Has anyone bothered to analyze Tyminski's economic program? Has any self-respecting economist appeared on television and explained to the television audience what Tyminski's economic program really means? There has been nothing. Everyone thought that he was unimportant. He was regarded as a curiosity; just part of the political circus. Now it has dawned on people that the matter is much more serious. The growing ranks of Tyminski supporters have to be told what his program really stands for and if it is a program at all. Looking at this whole incident it is frightening how easy it is to gain the trust of a substantial section of the Polish general public. It is frightening to think of just how little effort it actually took.

Rykowski Reviews Tyminski's Voter Appeal

AU2611224290 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 22 Nov 90 p 1

[Commentary by Zbyslaw Rykowski: "The Nerves Snapped"]

[Text] At the beginning, everything was splendid. The nation was with them and they were with the nation. Joint photographs and the scent of victory. It appeared that by sticking together, the heights of democracy could be conquered.

The watershed was reached on 24 August 1989, with the flurry of ministerial appointments, posts, cabinets, and personal secretaries. The new people found that power was a narcotic. Once addicted, you cannot kick the habit. These people could not resign themselves to losing power, because after all, the nation had chosen them. Did they not owe it to the nation to carry on?

For the first time since Yalta, a new government received a democratic stamp of legitimacy. This was the battering ram that eventually brought down the Berlin wall. It was a great triumph, because we were with the nation and the nation was with us. But suddenly, it transpired that once again there were those in authority and there was society. Once again it was said that society was too stupid to appreciate the government's good intentions.

A rude awakening followed. Tyminski rang the Polish front door bell. The battle lines had already been drawn. In the first line of fire there was the struggle with entrenched communism. It had to be eliminated. In the rear, there were interminable debates and conflicts. Yes, everything had been prearranged. The public would make its choice between two people who came from the same camp. Unexpectedly, the front doorbell rang. It was Tyminski.

The ridiculous and exotic Peruvian was given no chance. Surely, after having destroyed communism, society would be fully preoccupied with the choice between Walesa and Mazowiecki? Society had voted for "Solidarity" before and only a "Solidarity" pedigree was thought to be the key to power.

Everything had been prearranged before. There were to be two candidates; the prime minister and the chairman. Thus, there was a choice and the elections were called free elections. Society has a clear choice between the bad and the even worse.

Alas, the free elections have been disrupted by Tyminski. He has stripped "Solidarity" of its legitimacy to represent the nation. His participation in this election—success after success, banality after banality—has mesmerized the nation. Nobody can now claim to have a monopoly on representing the nation.

The nation knows what it wants. It does not like politicians. It has been disappointed before. It wants to eat and work, but not to work too hard, nor does it want to shoulder responsibility, just like in the days of communism.

Tyminski sensed this undercurrent. He appeared as if out of nowhere and began to peddle a therapy that has much in common with what a faith healer does. And it worked. An ailing social organism will grab at every straw of hope. Tyminski made promises and began to gather support. From a nobody, he became a somebody.

All that has happened so far, could provide fertile material for a novel about the psychological complexes,

the discontent, and the poverty of Polish society. It is research material for Polish sociologists and psychoanalysts. That is where everyone thought it would stop and it would have been the case had our nerves not snapped. The people who think themseleves to be representing the nation, were the first to lose nerve. The nation is shrugging them off, because it knows what it wants. It has had enough of wars at the top, meaningless conflicts, and, above all, the struggle for jobs at the top.

The nation is not stupid. When it opts to vote for Tyminski, it is not because it is choosing his primitive economic philosophy or his magic potions, guaranteed to work under all conditions. It is opting for Tyminski, because it has had enough of warring elites and all the people who usurp the right to speak in its name.

It is good that Tyminski rang our doorbell. He woke up all those people who deluded themselves that they were all-powerful and all-knowing. Tyminski is dangerous, and even Professor Sachs, the main guru of Polish economic reforms, has expressed apprehension in the name of the civilized world.

The only danger Tyminski poses to our democracy is the fact that he was able to stand in these elections and with the passage of time, gain popularity. It is not his fault. Nor is it society's fault. The fault lies with the fact that our new order's authority has been squandered. The nation can bear everything, except manipulation. It is willing to play the democratic game, but not with loaded dice. Tyminski's success is visible proof of the nation's refusal to play a crooked game.

It would be good if supporters of the first and second favorite were to understand this, instead of taking offense. They are doing the very thing that the communists did when they accused society of immaturity, misunderstandings, and of refusing to give them support.

This is the process by which those in authority become alienated. If we do not want to become the laughing stock of the world we must create democratic processes and real opportunities that allow a real choice between persons and programs. We only make ourselves look ridiculous when we start to panic, because Tyminski looks set to threaten the two candidates representing the nation.

If Tyminski did not exist, he would have to be invented, to jolt people out of their complacency.

Walesa Cited on Campaign, Reforms, Anti-Semitism

AU2111112490 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with 'Solidarity' leader Lech Walesa by Tomasz Wolek; place and date not given: "To Wake Society"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Wolek] Do you believe that being president in America or France is really much easier than in Poland? Does the President of the United States, a president whose decisions affect the rest of the world—for example, the Middle East today—really have less responsibility?

[Walesa] One cannot make such comparisons, nor would I wish the presidents of the USSR or the United States to be compared to a Polish president, because each one has completely different problems to grapple with. One must see the role of a president in a mature democracy with a effectively functioning economy and an established legal system as being rather different from the role of a president in a country where communism has collapsed, morale is low, and the economy is in ruins. Poland is a country that has to construct a new system. Additionally, this country finds itself between two great powers.

[Wolek] Have you considered any alternatives to the presidency? Did you not see any other fitting place for yourself in Poland? Is the presidency the only fitting place for you?

[Walesa] There is sufficient room and work in Poland for everyone, but there are only six candidates for the presidency out of a total population of 37 million. Please put the same question to each of the other presidential candidates: "Did you not see any other fitting place for yourself in Poland?" Do not think that I would automatically come to the top of your answer list in this poll. [passage omitted]

[Wolek] You have often produced rapid shifts of your previously declared directions. This happened, for example, in the shipyard in 1988, when you whipped up the fervor of the rather docile strike and soon after you suddenly poured cold water over the whole strike. You were able to get away with it too. Is it possible to repeat that process with the whole nation, a process that was possible with a handful of shipyard workers? Awake aspirations and then suddenly put the brakes on everything? What will happen if the brakes fail?

[Walesa] Nothing can be repeated in history. The situation in 1980, 1982, and 1988 was different each time, and it will again be completely different in 1991. One cannot compare the shipyard in 1988—a time of communist decline when we all slept together in the yard canteen, including Mazowiecki—with the present day. This principle applies to everyone, not just me. In 1988, we succeeded, as you have said, and you are also right when you say that there are no guarantees for the future. Every time a new decision has to be made it is different from the one that one would have made in the past. This is the essence of politics. Effective politics depends on effective decisions. Poland can only be changed by national commitment. We cannot sit back and wait for the time that the government will effect all the reforms. The government has to be helped, even through criticism. We cannot abandon the economic road indicated by Balcerowicz, there is just no other way out. We can help, however, by helping one another. To much hope was pinned on the West's friendship. Balcerowicz's plan of reform would have fully succeeded had we received

more help from the West, but the West did not give more, and additionally, we then saw the wholesale collapse of Communism. The help that was destined for us is now going to prop up the Soviet Union, so that it does not collapse too quickly and crush us all under its debris.

Balcerowicz, for whom I have great respect, is trying to close down factories and dismiss the labor force. I agree with this, because in theory he is right, but if we were to see this process to the end it would mean that we would have to make 7 million workers unemployed out of a total labor force of 12 million.

The intent is correct, but unrealistic. Here we must—and I agree with Kuron's remarks—create more committees instead of abolishing them. We must create new factories instead of closing them down.

Up until now, being brought up under the communist system, we constructed factories for political reasons. Now as the successors of the communists, we want to carry on as before, but in the opposite direction, namely, close down the factories for "political" reasons. This is wrong. We have to create the conditions and economics will do the rest. Kuczynski and Balcerowicz issue decrees which target such and such enterprises and say these seven or eight factories are to be privatized. This is unrealistic. We should be doing it the other way around. The seven or eight special military factories should be left out of the privatization process, but not the rest. We only need to agree the general principles and economic forces will do the rest. You cannot issue political commands. I cannot agree with them on this issue, because it represents old ways of thinking.

So as you see, I no longer think in the same way that I thought during the days of 1988 and before my meeting with Kiszczak and Magdalenka. Today I am grappling with other problems.

[Wolek] Many of your outrageous statements can be attributed to pure electioneering style. It is hard to accept that you seriously intended your remark made at the Warsaw Steel Plant: "Let them build up the circulation of these papers and then you can take them over." This is nothing but an open attack on the sacrosanct right of ownership and an incitement to take over property. You might not have intended it seriously, but there will be others who will. Why arouse such base instincts?

[Walesa] Please do not imply that I meant it as an incitement to pillage property. The sacrosanct right of ownership is only being created because private property is just coming into existence. As regards newspapers, they can hardly be called private. We have merely taken them away from the people who were politically bankrupt and given them to those who are not. This has nothing to do with rights of ownership. We are only beginning to talk about joint ventures, auctions, bids, and sales. With nominations it is different because a nominee's power can always be revoked. I hope that the newspapers will be sold off and that they will cease to be administered by the government or any other politically dominant group.

As regards my outrageous comments I want to point out that there have been many politicians in Poland who spoke more grammatically and more eloquently. Gomulka spoke poorly, Cyrankiewicz and Gierek better, and Jaruzelski much better. I do not speak so fluently, but I speak what millions of people think. Some call this democracy, others populism. This is a dispute for the theoreticians to resolve.

[Wolek] In the event of a setback, you have ruled out the possibility of moving into a loyal opposition, but you seem to demand such loyalty from others. Must you always be number one? Is no other role fitting enough?

[Walesa] I have already answered that question. Let democratic opinion give me the appropriate number. If I lose, I shall depart. I have many offers. Name me one politician in the world who dreams of being number two or three, or four. Only trainers of mediocre teams will say that they are aiming to secure a middle ranking place in the league for their team.

[Wolek] Why do you persist in humiliating your opponents who, although in the opposite camp, treat you with respect? Can you not bear the thought that Mazowiecki actually picked up the gauntlet that you threw down? Do you hold it against Aleksander Hall that it was he who first publicly questioned your presidential ambitions?

[Walesa] Hall seems to believe that I am not suited for the presidency. He said so first, then Michnik and Kuron repeated it. I know that old tune very well. In 1980, everybody, with the exception of Hall, was saying that Walesa is not suited for the politics at such level. A strike in the shipyard is one thing, but what does he want now? After all he is only a corporal in the trenches. After being let out of internment people only gave me a month at the most. Walesa's helplessness was going to finish him off. Before the televised talk with Miodowicz, everybody said I was going to be "devoured alive." The same thing is true now. The sole content of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's campaign is to show that I would not be suitable as president. The people who are responsible for his campaign strategy are doing me a big favor.

I do not want to be vindictive, but several years ago there was a certain perceptive politician who wrote about me in similar fashion as what Adam Michnik is writing about me nowadays in GAZETA WYBORCZA. That I say different things according to the time of day it is, that I am irresponsible, unpredictable, that I lack political vision, and that I am only an electrician, and so forth. You know what his name is? It is Jerzy Urban.

[Wolek] Why are people leveling charges of anti-Semitism against you?

[Walesa] I know that there is some anti-Semitism in Poland and I regret it deeply. However, the further one

gets from Poland the larger the proportions of this problem. In New York there are scorching articles in the press about it, in Israel the issue is debated in parliament, and in Australia (my apologies to the Australians), someone who knows nothing about Polish problems might be excused for thinking that the sole issue preoccupying the Poles nowadays is anti-Semitism and that is the reason why we are in the critical predicament that we are in. Politicians are using this slur to discredit me. To further their specific election purposes they are sowing seeds that can only give forth poisoned fruit. Michnik writes in a paper with a large circulation that he would not want Poland to return to ghettos for the Jews. After all, what do these words cost him? In the country with which we are trying to establish relations that were ruptured by the communists, however, those very words provoke fear and create a poisoned atmosphere. Political facts are created and then I start to receive letters from foreign politicians and organizations which seem to be making the connection: Concentration camps Polish anti-semitism-Lech Walesa. All in one breath! My God! What have I to do with all this? During the days of Auschwitz and Treblinka my mother was carrying me in her womb and my father was in a German concentration camp which killed him.

I have gone a long way to publicly show that I am not anti-Semitic and I do not wish to have it in Poland. It is one of the synonyms of hate.

I have a whole pile of letters from very well-known representatives of the nation which, as we are told in the gospel, is the chosen nation. Those who want to see my efforts in this domain will see them, and those who do not will do their own thing anyway.

These elections will pass into history and world public opinion will accept the democratic choice of the Poles. Nevertheless, the bad opinion that we are anti-Semitic will remain. Let all those who cast these accusations today for their own political gains be in no doubt that the responsibility for casting doubts on Poland's good name will fall squarely on their shoulders, rather than on those rebel rousers at political rallies who shout "What about the Jews?" when they have never seen one in their life.

Yes, I did say, "I am 100-percent Pole." I also know that many Jews would be proud to say, "I am 100-percent Jewish." So what? Both nations have been severely tried, the Jews were condemned by the Nazis to rapid extermination and the Poles were to be slowly annihilated. We should have many things in common. We have no reason to argue. Shortsighted and feuding politician should bear this in mind.

Walesa Suggests Rival Use Air Time Opportunities

LD2811191290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Statement by Andrzej Drzycimski, the Solidarity chairman's press spokesman; place and date not given]

[Text] Lech Walesa appeals to all who holds Poland's affairs close to their heart to engage in a serious political debate. He suggests that his rival, who wants to be president of the Poles, use every opportunity to present his views and his program in the press, on the radio, and especially on television. Poland already knows Lech Walesa well. Let it now get to know his rival, who is seeking the highest office in the land. Poland should enable the candidate for the presidential office to present himself and his views on the most important matters of state. Should this not be possible, Lech Walesa is prepared to give up some of his television air time so that the Poles can make a conscious and responsible choice of the head of state.

That was a statement by the Solidarity chairman's press spokesman.

Walesa Says Najder Not To Be in His Cabinet

LD2811174690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Several dozen minutes or so ago Lech Walesa, in an interview for the third program of Polish radio, said that if he wins he does not envisage Zdzislaw Najder being in his cabinet

Center Alliance Senator Insists on Walesa

LD2811155890 Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—Two dangers for the Polish process of reforms come into consideration, namely social protest expressed in nonparliamentary forms and the blocking of reforms by the mechanisms of the democracy being born, Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski of the Centre Alliance said at a news conference here today.

The election of Lech Walesa for president has to be done in spite of the differences and divisions that cannot be wiped out however, he added.

Referring to the second candidate Stanislaw Tyminski, Senator Kaczynski stated that he is an exponent of those forces which are remnants of the communist system. It is a threat for the Polish democracy that Mr. Tyminski embodies, Kaczynski stated.

Party Supports Poles Abroad Deprived of Vote

LD2811234390 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The National Democratic Party has published a communique in which it supports the protest of the U.S. and Canadian Polonia against the decision of the State Electoral Commission depriving the Polish citizens residing abroad of their right to vote in the second round of the presidential election.

The National Democracy Party expects the association "Polish Community," deputies and senators, as well as

political groupings, to press for the restoration to expatriate Poles of their electoral rights.

Geremek Calls For Referendum on New Constitution

AU2811110690 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 28 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, head of the Polish Constitution Commission, by Livia Klingl in Warsaw; date not given: "We Want a Referendum"]

[Text] [Klingl] What kind of constitution would be the best for Poland?

[Geremek] We want a balance between the power of the president, the government, and parliament; therefore, we are looking for a limited presidential system. As regards the powers of the prime minister, we are thinking of the German or the Austrian model. It is questionable, however, whether we will be able to get the new constitution through the Sejm before the parliamentary elections in spring. There 65 percent of the seats are still occupied by representatives of the old regime. We want to hold a referendum on the constitution before the elections.

[Klingl] There are rumors that you are Lech Walesa's favorite candidate for the office of prime minister. What would you answer him?

[Geremek] This is an interesting proposal, even though a strange one. After all, from the very beginning I have strongly supported Mazowiecki and his program, which is completely different from Walesa's program.

[Klingl] The election campaign finally split the former fellow-fighters of Solidarity. Does this hurt you?

[Geremek] As a political man, as which I understand myself, I can only say that this is the normal course of events in democracy. But I also see myself as an amateur, who feels a certain nostalgia for the movement in which he participated. The split of Solidarity was unavoidable, but it came too early. What Poland needed was a continuing social consensus. If Walesa proposes me as prime minister, this would mean that he, too, is looking for a consensus, that he is nostalgic.

[Klingl] Should one not have thought of forming parties earlier?

[Geremek] We have far more than 100 parties, but they lack support by the people. We call them sofa parties because the members of every individual party would have room on one sofa. There is an enormous distrust in parties, the past 45 years have destroyed much in this respect. The polarization which emerged during the election campaign is a phenomenon in all new democracies or postcommunist countries.

The question is whether we will adopt the West European model or whether we will have only two parties in the long run, a democratic and a republican one, as in the United States.

Political Groups Express Government Crisis Views

LD2811234590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left [PKLD] has expressed itself in favor of a debate on a report of the government activity as an indispensible prerequisite for the recall of the Council of Ministers—after only two or three weeks—after the second round of the presidential elections. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz stressed that although the prime minister had lost the presidential elections, this is not a cause for the dismissal of the government; a dismissal should not ensue without a report, and thus without accounting for successes and failures.

The stance of the Parliamentary Club of the Polish Democratic Union [PUD] with regard to the dismissal of the government, adopted today, is associated with the constitutional article, stating that if the Sejm is unable to appoint a government for three months, then the president is able to dissolve parliament. It was stated that the club will express itself in favor of dismissal only after a government report on its activity. It was also stressed that parliament is currently the only institution stabilizing the country, and that is why, in the interest of the country, it ought to carry on functioning.

On the other hand, members of the Parliamentary Club of the Christian Social Union [UChS] decided to appeal to the Sejm not to accept the dismissal of the prime minister, wishing in this way to express confidence in the government. The decision of the club might be subject to change as a result of the decisions at tomorrow's meeting of the Council of Elders.

'Untampered' Jaruzelski Biography Reviewed

AU2111145090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Nov 90 p 2

[Daniel Lulinski review: "Shakespearian Stature"]

[Text] How could a descendant of the landed gentry, a pupil at a school run by priests, and a Siberian deportee become a communist? What thoughts ran in a junior officer's mind as he helplessly watched Warsaw burn? How does he view today the mistakes that were made during martial law? Why did he not dissolve the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] at that time? What will he do when he leaves the Belvedere? These are just some of the questions put to General Wojciech Witold Jaruzelski (yes, two given names!) For the first time in public, though for the time being for the benefit of the Western reader, Jaruzelski relates the dramatic moments of his life from 1939 to today.

The book, entitled "Jaruzelski" and written by the German author Manfred E. Berger, has recently been published by the Econ Publishing House. It is the first untampered biography of the general-cum-president. For the first time, Jaruzelski's noble background is presented, something which clearly occupies a favorable place in history because Berger devotes as much as 100 pages to this subject. Berger has consulted ancient documents and visited the place where the general was born in 1923. From the documentation so painstakingly gathered by Berger, it emerges that Jaruzelski is descended from a family of knights whose coat of arms, with a heron emblem, was granted to the family by Duke Konrad of Mazowsze in 1224. His name is derived from the village of Jaruzele in Podlasie. Descendants of this family fought in numerous battles with Poland's enemies. So those who have been including in Jaruzelski's biographical entries the innocent-sounding remark "of intelligentsia background" will now have to make a correction.

Berger's book contains no shortage of personal reflections by the general and little known facts. For instance, the young Wojtek attended the school run by the Mariuan Fathers in Bielany, Warsaw, for six years, and as an officer, Jaruzelski was very tolerant of religious believers in his immediate surroundings, even people in uniform. Another fact is that before the war, his family compared communists to red devils with horns and a tail. Despite his difficult and dramatic experience in Siberian exile (at the age of 18, he chopped trees in the taiga), Jaruzelski's eyes were open to both the atrocities of Stalinism and the new social reality, so diferent from the one in prewar Poland.

Jaruzelski also admits that he missed joining the army of General Anders, to which his father had reported him. By the time he reached the point of rendezvous, Anders' army was already on the way to Iran, so Jaruzelski had no choice but to return to Poland from the east with the army of General Berling, to whom he accords the greatest respect, especially because Berling, during difficult talks with Stalin, succeeded in preserving the Polish identity of the army in the east. Thanks to Berger, we learn that Wojciech's sister, Teresa Starnawska, still has the axe with which her brother chopped trees in Siberia. Jaruzelski recalls the tomb of his father, who did not live long enough to see freedom and lies buried in Biysk, in Siberia. The president says his father's fate was typical for Poles in those days.

The author could not fail to ask the president the basic question of how he moved to the left wing and why he never discusses the fact that he is a communist. Jaruzelski admits that "the road to the left was neither straight nor easy." The things that encouraged him to join the left wing were a desire for social justice; the desire of a 22-year-old officer to take part in Poland's reconstruction; a fascinating vision of Poland's industrialization and urbanization; the availability of education to broad masses—in a nutshell the Polish road to socialism until the Stalinist upheaval in 1948 and 1949 (Jaruzelski joined the party in 1947). He admits that his main motive was a patriotic-military one, plus the realization that in the divided world, there was no other constructive way of serving Poland, especially for someone like him who had traveled a 3,500 km trail from the Siberian taiga back to free Poland.

Why does Jaruzelski not talk about himself as a communist? "Communism is a beautiful, noble idea," he says, "but no one has ever implemented it. All we have had is real socialism, 'with all its errors and imperfections.' One cannot ignore the shadow of Stalinism and its atrocities and distortions, and all the things that have distorted relations and the historical truth."

This part of the young officer's biography deals with his feelings and dilemma when, in the summer of 1944, he stood helplessly on the bank of the Vistula watching Warsaw burn. Of course, at that time he had no idea of the political purpose of the Warsaw uprising, nor of the Soviet Army's strategic capability and Stalin's intentions. All he knew was that General Berling was doing everything he could to help Warsaw. Stalin was not interested in the uprising succeeding, because it was under the political and military control of the Polish Government in London. "In a moral sense, the most important thing was to preserved our Army's honor by trying to help the insurgents against all the odds," recalls Jaruzelski. That was just one of the lessons he learned about the ruthlessness of politics. Another such lesson was the years 1980 and 1981, but by then he was no longer a young officer, but the person who bore political and governmental responsibility for events.

Nevertheless, Jaruzelski admits he made two mistakes. The first was when he succumbed to pressure from Wladyslaw Gomulka and became minister of defense in 1968, replacing Marshal Spychalski. Gomulka wanted to restore calm and discipline to the Polish Army after the March 1968 disturbances. Jaruzelski's second mistake was that he agreed to become prime minster in February 1981, as a result of pressure from "my friend Stanislaw Kania."

"I never wanted either of these posts, just as I did not want Gierek to nominate me as Politburo candidate member after the bloody events on the coast in December 1970," says Jaruzelski. "The Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs were bypassed when the decision was made to deploy the Army and use weapons. The decision was made by the Central Committee First Secretary (Gomulka), State Council Chairman (Spychalski), and Prime Minister (Cyrankiewicz)."

That was the start of the Army's involvement in politics, something Jaruzelski wished to avoid. He also reveals that in the middle of the 1970's, when the failure of Gierek's economic policy became visible, he was "officially and unofficially" offered the post of prime minister. That was also the last time when his refusal was respected. Nevertheless, despite all his reservations

about the politicization of the Army and turning it into an instrument of power by the authorities, Jaruzelski fails to explain why he became head of party and government in 1981.

The dramatic nature of the events in Poland at the time and of relations with Poland's allies, especially Moscow, are illustrated by his statements on the subject of the very difficult talks with the ill and aging Brezhnev. At that time Poland was on the threshold of, if not civil war, then at least major disturbances. The West also expected USSR intervention. There were signs that "certain persons" were preparing to ask Moscow for "help" in accordance with the well-known Hungarian and Czechoslovak pattern. In turn, other military figures in Poland were saying that a Soviet intervention in Poland would be a good opportunity to show how "Poles can fight." At the same time, "Solidarity" made a fiasco of the talks with the government and the mediation of the Church at the beginning of December 1981.

In general, Brezhnev merely read texts prepared for him by Suslov, the chief ideologist; Defense Minister Ustinov; and Gromyko, the head of the Foreign Ministry. However, it was clear that they would never agree to any change in their strategic "Polish front yard." There was very little room to maneuver. The West also preferred a "Polish solution" to Soviet intervention. To prove this, Berger cites statements by Western politicians, including West German figures like Chancellor Schmidt or Herbert Wehner, the head of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] faction in the Bundestag, who visited Jaruzeski a few weeks after the declaration of martial law.

For the first time, Jaruzelski discusses the mistakes made under martial law. For example, he was too lenient with the party apparatus, which used martial law as a kind of "umbrella." Although he considered dissolving the PZPR, in the end he did not do so because he feared the old apparatus might form a new party and use it to combat the reformers. Apart from that, the party apparatus was the only pillar of authority, and when a battle is being fought, no front-line soldier asks who is supplying the food.

Jaruzelski includes among other mistakes the fact that unnecessary persecution was applied during martial law. Many "other people" were unnecessarily arrested and intimidated, and "scores settled" with them. "I am very sorry I was unable to restrain this, after all I knew how the security and administrative apparatus behaved," says Jaruzelski. "To a certain extent, a person in a high position becomes to a certain extent a slave of the information and stereotypes in circulation. For instance, I did not know that the opposition to martial law and later opposition was so widespread. When I was shown photos and reports, people tried to play down the problems. Only when I saw films of demonstrations shot by freelance cameramen did I see how many people had taken part in them. In 1985 I underestimated 'Solidarity's' strength, thinking it was a closed chapter of history. In 1981 'Solidarity' did not appreciate the strength of the state."

All these experiences led to the "roundtable" in 1989—and to the present Polish reality and fundamental changes to our part of Europe. Were it not for Jaruzelski, would Gorbachev's policies have been *thinkable*? asks the author. His reply to his own question is that as time goes by and more records are made accessible, and when Jaruzelski's own record of his Kremlin talks are published, even the general's compatriots will accord him the recognition he is due. Jaruzelski is the "St. Sebastian" of politics, a figure of Shakespearian stature. But, asks the author, will this be possible in a country of heroes and martyrs in which a captain who goes down with his ship is preferred to a bold helmsman trying to navigate his ship between icebergs?

Asked whether he will miss the Belvedere when he steps down from presidential office, Jaruzelski replies: "Without the Army and my uniform I will find life very difficult because I have spent 60 years of my life outside the Belvedere. I have so much catching up to do in reading, going to the theater and movies, and talking to interesting people that I will have to change my lifestyle to keep up."

Typical are the president's replies to standard questions which well-known dailies are fond of asking statesmen: Asked, for example, what he thinks is the greatest misfortune, he replies "war," and the greatest fortune is "military success, and a victory that has been properly exploited." The person in history whom he despises the most is Beria, his favorite literary heroine is Anna Karenina, and his favorite literary hero is Rafal Olbromski in Zeromski's "Ashes." His favorite composer is Chopin, his favorite painter Van Gogh, and his favorite historical figure Maria Sklodowska-Curie. He thinks his greatest mistake has been a desire to attain perfection. Critical loyalty is the quality he values the most among his friends.

Jaruzelski Reacts to Biography

AU2211140390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20 Nov 90 p 3

[Letter from President Wojciech Jaruzelski to TRYBUNA: "I Cannnot Keep Quiet"]

[Text] TRYBUNA issue No. 234 of 19 November published a review by Daniel Lulinski, entitled "Shakespearian Stature," of Manfred Berger's book.

I have not read this book yet, so I do not know how faithfully it reproduces the contents of my conversation with the author. In any case, as we know, this conversation takes up only a small part of the book. The rest is based on other sources and reports, as well as the author's own thoughts.

I assume D. Lulinski's review was written with good intent toward me. Nevertheless, it presents tones about which I cannot keep quiet.

At a time when there are such a lot of surprising moves, when neophytes are expressing their bitterness and cutting themselves off from their own past, I do not wish to belong to this category.

In particular, I have no intention of hiding behind other people's backs and pretending to be "naive." I have already written and said in public that I am aware of the responsibility emanating from the office bestowed upon me.

Also, whenever I have criticized various situations, institutions, and milieus, I have never resorted to generalizations. Of course there have been primitive, dishonest people who abused their office and interfered with accord, but there have also been many honest ideologically-minded people in the party apparatus, administration, and security service who discharged their functions in accordance with the law and regulations of the system then in force. Now that many of these people are now "overboard," it is all the more impermissible to seek scapegoats.

The sociopolitical system in which we lived for 45 years has fallen for various reasons which have already been extensively written about. But that does not mean that the past is one big black smudge. Nor does it mean that the leftwing ideological values that were then practiced are no longer valid. I personally am still faithful to these values and always will be.

I have also expressed on more than one occasion my attitude toward the Russian people and the USSR. Lately I have done so in interviews for RZECZPOSPOLITA and IZVESTIYA.

The appearance of Gorbachev, perestroyka, and the new thinking is highly favorable for our countries and Europe. A historically new situation has emerged. But does that mean that the blame for all the sins of the past has to be put in only one place? I personally do not intend to blame our internal dramas, mistakes, and disruptions on the policies of well-known, eastern figures from the past. I think we ourselves, people from various ideological camps, have enough reason to think about our own faults. Of course the external factor was very important, but everything has to be kept in the right proportion.

I will try to write exhaustively, critically, and self-critically about all these matters, about my own difficult life story. That will take time, of course. Today I am limiting myself to this letter.

[Signed] Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Industrial Unrest Spreads, More Strikes Called

LD2111180290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Following the fiasco of yesterday's talks between the National Commission of Mining Solidarity with the Minister of Industry Tadeusz Syryjczyk in Warsaw, a strike began today in 27 coalmines at 0600. The strike has various forms: three of the striking mines resumed work after two hours' stoppage. In Jankowice colliery there was work to rule. In Kazimierz Juliusz colliery seven people went on hunger strike. [passage omitted]

In Gdansk the municipal transportation system is at a standstill for the fifth consecutive day and no talks are being held with the strike committee. In connection with the exceptionally difficult situation the Gdansk voivoda yesterday ordered the provision of substitute transportation. Buses from various enterprises of the tri-city area were arriving from 0430 this morning at the municipal depot. [passage omitted]

A 24-hour strike by the workforce of the Municipal Transport Enterprise in Radom began at 0400 this morning. The strikers demand subsidies to rescue the economic and financial situation of their enterprise. [passage omitted]

Beginning at midnight the Municipal Transport Enterprise in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski went on strike, demanding increased subsidies to the level planned at the begining of this year—11 billion—so far only half of the subsidies have been received. [passage omitted]

Also, a warning strike is being held by transportation workers in Przemysl, and the employees of the Municipal Transport Enterprise in Kalisz are also on strike, in spite of their earlier announcement that they would not strike. On the other hand, the municipal transport enterprises in Koszalin, Olsztyn, Wroclaw, Slupsk, and Warsaw among others have decided not to strike.

Defense Body Examines Proposed Army Changes

AU2711101990 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "New Model for the Army"]

[Excerpts] General of Division Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Polish Army General Staff, presented a report entitled "The Current State and Paths of Restructuring of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland" before the National Defense Commission.

The meeting was opened by Deputy Jerzy Golaczynski, chairman of the National Defense Commission, who welcomed General Stelmaszuk in his new, responsible role, as well as his deputy, General of Division Franciszek Puchala. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Finance, and Supreme Chamber of Control. [passage omitted]

What is the Army to be like? By how much will it be reduced? Gen. Stelmaszuk said that it will be reduced from 412,000 to 305,000. A small army does not have to be a weak one, he said. It will be more efficient and

better organized. It is already smaller than it was. Many rearguard units, ones not connected with operational forces, have been disbanded. The changes are aimed at adapting the Armed Forces to the role of defense. [passage omitted]

"We already know how much we will have of what, how many tanks, armored transporters, cannons, aircraft, and so on," said Gen. Stelmaszuk. "Taking this into account, we have concluded that our country can 'cope with' an Army of 230,000-250,000 men, and, in case of war, 750,000-800,000 men." [passage omitted]

The president will be the head of the Armed Forces. He will chair either a defense council or a security council, consisting of the chief of the General Staff; ministers of defense, foreign affairs, internal afairs, finance, industry, transportation, and maritime economy; and representatives of the Sejm, Senate, political parties, and church. The Council of Ministers will contain a minister of defense affairs or a minister of defense. The final name has yet to be decided. [passage omitted]

The country would consist of the following military districts: Pomerania, Silesia, Mazury or Mazowsze-Podlasie (the final name is yet to be agreed upon), and Malopolska. Each district commander would also be in charge of a particular sphere of responsibilities. [passage omitted]

How much of the Army will be professional? "Fifty percent. A higher percentage would be too costly. Logic dictates that in a smaller army, more attention should be paid to the reserve,and that is what is being done in the modern armed forces," was the reply. [passage omitted]

What about equipment? "Contacts have been established with the West. Without giving up our cooperation with the Soviet Union, our (numerically) smaller Army must have the most modern equipment in the world. It all depends, however, on the budget."

The size of military institutions, especially central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense, will be reduced in size. There will be fewer generals. Instead of the present 172 generals, the new model for the Armed Forces envisages less than half—80. [passage omitted]

The National Defense Commission approved the work of the new Ministry of National Defense leadership, which permits a continuation of the work of reform.

News Conference Held on 1991 Draft Budget

AU2611132590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Nov 90 p 2

["eol" report: "How Much From the State in 1991?"]

[Text] More money from the budget for social security and capital spending, less for subsidies. Savings will have to be made in expenditures by the defense and interior ministries. Rural districts are only receiving enough subsidies to cover one-quarter of their expenses. No one knows with what will we service our debts.

At a Monday news conference with journalists, Deputy Minister Wojciech Misiag discussed the main points of next year's budget. They were examined by the Council of Ministers last week.

A cardinal, unbreakable principle adopted by the Council of Ministers is that the budget must be balanced, which means that all current expenditures have to be paid for out of current incomes. This rule will not apply to the repayment of our foreign credits, ways of financing which have not yet been worked out.

The structure of budget spending will probably be different to what it was this year. More will be spent on social security on account of the rise in unemployment in the first half of next year and an increase in unemployment benefits. These are rising in line with wages.

Another source of increased budget spending will be the repayment of our foreign debts—both the principal sums and the interest on them, payment of which commenced last year.

Capital spending will also increase, which, of course, does not mean we will continue with all the projects that have already been started.

Increased spending in some spheres must be offset by reduced spending in others. This applies to subsidies to that part of the economy that is financed from the budget. "The real value of subsidies for the budget sphere, however, will be preserved," said Minister Misiag. The health serviced, higher education, and the defense and interior ministries are known to have uneconomical systems of finance, and it will be necessary to seek reserves in them.

"There will be a decrease in subsidies out of the budget," said Minister Misiag. "Their nominal value will rise from 35 to 40 trillion zlotys, but if we take into account the envisaged 52 percent inflation,then the real value of these subsidies will be one-quarter less than it is now."

Some of the subsidies will be allocated to rural areas, one-quarter of whose expenditures will be financed this way. The remaining 75 percent of their expenditures will be paid for out of their own incomes.

Finance Minister Urges Strict Monetary Policy

AU2711102790 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 22 Nov 90 p 3

[Report by Markus Ziener on interview with Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz in Warsaw; date not given: "The Gulf Crisis Endangers the Success of Reforms"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 21 November—According to the Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, Poland's economic situation continues to be very difficult.

External factors in particular might seriously endanger the stabilization in the country that has been achieved.

In an interview with HANDELSBLATT in Warsaw, the deputy prime minister stated that the Gulf crisis and the reduced purchase of oil in rubles, which entails higher energy costs that have to be paid in dollars, are making the economic situation more difficult at the moment. As a result of this development, energy prices had to be increased. Price increases in the world market for oil have a double negative effect in Poland. Poland, which is currently in a transitional economic phase anyway, is harder hit by this development than any other Western country.

In addition, changes in the Eastern markets, mainly in the Soviet Union, are also a cause for concern. The unsettled question as to how trade will develop in the coming year leads to uncertainties. Under these circumstances, the discussion about how Polish foreign indebtedness should be treated in the future will assume increasing significance. Clarity about the extent to which the debts can be reduced would lead to more economic and political stability in the country.

When viewing the reform process in Poland without taking into consideration the external influences that have occurred, he can draw up an overall positive interim balance sheet, Balcerowicz pointed out. He is not, however, fully satisfied with the results. Successes were mainly scored concerning the stabilization program. The lack of goods has been eliminated, and the convertibility of the zloty and a stable exchange rate have been achieved. At the same time, trade with other countries has largely been liberalized. About 90 percent of the prices have been deregulated, and a number of administrative obstacles have been removed. This can be seen in the banking sector, for example, where considerable progress has been achieved. As a matter of fact, the banking system has not yet been fully developed, but 40 credit institutions were opened in Poland this year alone.

To a certain extent, the economic processes have been reversed in the course of the year, the finance minister stressed. Thus, in July the real income rose more quickly than prices, whereas the real income dropped in the first half of the year.

The government is aware, however, of this and knows that this development must not continue over a longer period of time. In order not to endanger the stability of prices, a decision was made one month ago and again recently, to tighten monetary policy by increasing interest rates.

A strict monetary policy is the precondition for the successful continuation of the course that has been chosen, also in the coming year, Balcerowicz stressed. Thus, interest rates will be determined in a way in the future that stability is ensured.

Those who are criticizing the pace of restructuring in Poland today, apparently held too high and unrealistic expectations with regard to the speed, the finance minister stated. As far as the privatization of enterprises is concerned, it can also be seen from the example of East Germany, for example, that rapid privatization involves enormous difficulties. It would be wrong simply to use the number of enterprises that have been privatized as the only yardstick for progress in this sphere. In addition, the path for a swifter progress in 1991 has been cleared through the creation of institutions this year to prepare privatization. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Approves Draft Budget Law

LD2811234490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has met under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The most important item discussed at the meeting was a debate of the draft budget law and on the assumptions for next year's socioeconomic policy.

The discussions were long and difficult, but resulted in final, detailed corrections to both documents, and enabled the completion of this basic stage of legislative work. The Council of Ministers approved the draft budget law for next year, which together with the assumptions for the socioeconomic policy will be presented to parliament for examination. Thus it is still possible that the new government may have to address both documents.

It is assumed that in 1991 national income increases of four percent will be generated, and in industrial production of five and a half percent. Consumption is to increase by nearly nine percent, investment by 16 percent, and reserves by four percent. The budget is to be balanced, and the main sources of its income will remain income tax, turnover tax, and dividends.

Balcerowicz Interviewed on Economic Program

PM2611095590 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 5 Nov 90 pp 1,6-7

[Interview with Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by GLOS PORANNY reporter Aldona Lukomska; place and date not given]

[Text] [Lukomska] An increasingly credible rumor has it that if Walesa wins the election and becomes president, you will be appointed his prime minister. Is this likely?

[Balcerowicz] During the preelection period a variety of speculative predictions are made. This is natural. For me the fundamental question that claims my attention is the government economic program and the chances of its continued implementation.

[Lukomska] Is this the reason why you so strongly emphasize the need to separate politics from the economy? You spoke about this in almost every public address you delivered recently.

[Balcerowicz] I have always believed that the economy is so important an area and that the economic program we are implementing is such a critical operation that they should never be the object of narrowly interpreted party contests.

[Lukomska] What about the call for acceleration? I do not find the government's position on this question clear at all.

[Balcerowicz] Acceleration is only sensible—unless it has a purely rhetorical application—if it refers to tangible matters. A debate on it can begin only when we have a clearly formulated declaration specifying the areas in which it should be applied and the rate at which it should proceed.

The idea of acceleration is most often mentioned in the context of changes that are to be introduced in the structure and system of the economy. Well, I agree with those who suggest that such changes should be introduced at a rapid rate. However, in the debate on acceleration we should consider what has been done in the economy to date and also make it quite clear that the realization of this aim carries with it a certain risk which should be compared with the risk inherent in a slower rate of economic change. What we need is to have a clear awareness of the consequences of the different options. Let us, for example, consider privatization. I am in favor of the quickest possible rate of implementation in this area. All the same, we must realize that any considerable acceleration of this process—which, in any case, is an exceptional and pioneering project in terms of other countries' experience worldwide—entails the need to apply unconventional techniques of privatization of enterprises involving abridged and simplified takeover procedures—which in turn involves the risk of mistakes being made.

[Lukomska] To tell the truth, the coming year looks from this perspective like an unbroken string of privatization processes. Is this all that will be happening?

[Balcerowicz] It will not only be privatization but also the creation of new ancillary institutions to facilitate and accompany the change of ownership processes—such as joint investment companies, stock exchanges, and so on. We also intend to continue the reform of our banking system, as a result of which more truly commercial banks will be established, both private and set up as Polish-foreign joint ventures. Nor do I preclude the possibility of the privatization of certain state banks. We are also finalizing work on legal acts which will complete the process of creating new legislation to underpin the new economic system.

[Lukomska] But are you not afraid that all these projects could turn out to be largely unrealistic in practical terms? How could the implementation of the economic program for next year be affected by the crisis in the Near East, the transition to the new practice of account settlement in dollars within the CEMA countries or, finally, the economic repercussions following German unification?

[Balcerowicz] These are very serious obstacles indeed and, to make matters worse, they have occurred at the time when a growth tendency coupled with relatively low inflation have developed in our economy. We could not have predicted the Near East crisis, and we are already experiencing its effects today. For example, we had never planned to have two fuel price increases in quick succession, but we were forced to introduce them. The high level of world oil prices places in an entirely new perspective our plans for next year's oil imports from the Soviet Union. After all, we are switching to using the dollar in trade settlements between our two countries, as well as adjusting prices to world levels. Today it is quite impossible to predict future trends in oil prices or to forecast the pressure which these will put on Polish economy. This is the main source of worry and uncertainty for us today.

[Lukomska] What rate of inflation should we expect as a consequence of all these factors?

[Balcerowicz] Our attempts are centered on preventing the unplanned inflation upsurge from exceeding the levels caused by the fuel price increases.

[Lukomska] But surely oil prices are not the main source of concern for Polish economy today....

[Balcerowicz] Our concern is compounded by the consequences of the German unification process—consequences which I expect, hopefully, to be short-lived, but which are still detrimental to our economy. These include, in the first place, decreased demand for certain Polish products traditionally exported to the GDR over many past years—mainly engineering industry products.

[Lukomska] In this connection, are any likely scenarios for the expected development of the situation being prepared? Furthermore, could you tell us the best and the worst possible variant of how things could develop?

[Balcerowicz] Such scenarios are indeed being prepared, but by the nature of things they must remain classified headquarters documents. Anyone who understands the principle of the self-fulfilling prophecy will know that such scenarios should not be disclosed for public information.

[Lukomska] But surely there are some general conclusions which can be drawn from the present state of affairs....

[Balcerowicz] There are two such conclusions. First of all, we should continue to implement the economic program with an even greater determination in order to prepare the economy for the need to overcome all the newly emerged external obstacles which exceed our forecasts. Second, we should be firm in our requests for a reduction of our foreign debts, both to international institutions and our actual creditors. We have made such requests, but it is not an easy thing to negotiate.

[Lukomska] Your recent visit to Washington was the best evidence of this. Did you not come back without having scored a victory?

[Balcerowicz] A strange conviction has taken hold in Poland that every time the finance minister goes on a visit to a Western country, he must come back with a deal involving a reduction of our debt to that country.... But in reality every such visit and every round of talks is only a stage in the process of investing in the final outcome. One thing is certain: Without such endeavors we would stand no chance of reaching any kind of agreement.

[Lukomska] Do we stand such a chance now?

[Balcerowicz] I believe we do. However, the problem lies mainly in the political sphere.

[Lukomska] Since we are talking about our financial relations with foreign countries, there is the controversial matter of the privatization act which restricts the value of shares a foreign investor can buy without a special license to 10 percent of the estimated assets of the given enterprise....

[Balcerowicz] I think that the controversy is based on a certain misunderstanding. This is because those who criticize this regulation often fail to notice that it applies only to the value of shares which can be purchased without obtaining a license. It is not our intention to restrict the input of foreign investment. On the contrary, we are very much interested in attracting large capital to Poland. Our main concern here is to make sure that we can obtain the optimum price for the assets owned by Polish enterprises.

[Lukomska] Does this suggest that shares earmarked for foreign investors would be sold at higher prices than shares allocated for domestic investors?

[Balcerowicz] Such an option is under discussion now. It has been suggested because otherwise, given the high pace of privatization and the meager resources at the disposal of our public, share prices would have to be set rather low.

[Lukomska] Our neighbors, that is, the Hungarians and the Czechoslovaks, appear to have much less trouble in attracting an influx of foreign capital....

[Balcerowicz] The Hungarians were ahead of us already at the start of the race. This was mainly because as early as a year ago their economic system was already much closer to the market economy model and, in addition, their economy was generally much more stable. All the same, I believe that at present the difference between their situation and ours is becoming less pronounced as regards the attractiveness of our respective economic offers to foreign investors. As regards Czechoslovakia, I believe that they are still at a stage before the implementation of the crucial economic reforms, and foreign investors can be certain to take this factor into consideration.

[Lukomska] Let us risk a prophecy. Where will Poland be in five years' time, and with which foreign country will we be able to compare it then?

[Balcerowicz] If, as a society, we succeed in overcoming all the external difficulties, we could begin to record perceptible signs of an economic growth as early as the second half of next year. This process could then continue over the following several years. Of course, this will not allow us to close the gap between our country and the FRG, but it should bring us closer to countries with which we were once compared, such as Spain—provided, of course, that we mobilize our resources and continue the process of economic reforms already initiated.

[Lukomska] What are the gravest foreseeable threats to this process and this scenario?

[Balcerowicz] The gravest danger to this scenario is if pressure is applied to aim for quick results and introduce changes in our economic policy that would destroy the progress we have already made.

Former Polish Ambassadors Acquitted of Treason

AU2911135090 Warsaw PAP in English 1524 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—The Supreme Court acquitted here today former Polish ambassadors to the United States Romuald Spasowski and to Japan Zdzislaw Rurarz of spying and diplomatic treason charges.

Both former diplomats asked for political asylum in the United States upon the imposition of martial law in Poland on December 13, 1981 and were sentenced in absence to death penalty in the years 1982-1983. The sentences were changed to 25-year imprisonment by virtue of last year's amnesty.

An extraordinary appeal to acquit both men was submitted by the Polish prosecutor general.

Annulling the sentences, the Supreme Court said that both Spasowski and Rurarz had been sentenced only on circumstantial evidence and their guilt had not been proved.

Prime Minster Roman Continues Visit to Germany

Meets FRG President, Other Officials

AU2911214690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2118 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Thursday [29 November], Prime Minister Petre Roman was received by Germany's President Richard von Weizsaecker.

During the interview, the Romanian prime minister referred to the democratic process in Romania for the consolidation of the state of law, to the government's reform programme for a speedy transition to a market economy, by liberalisation of economic structures, so far excessively state-controlled.

In a cordial atmosphere, the two statesmen discussed the evolution of the relations between their countries, exchanged views on current international issues, mainly the European integration process and the Gulf crisis.

On the same day, Mr. Petre Roman, Romania's prime minister and leader of the ruling National Salvation Front, had talks, at the "Bundeshaus" [guest house] with the German Social Democratic Party Chairman, Dr. Hans Jochen Vogel, member of the Bundestag, with whom he exchanged information on the prospects for relations between the ruling National Salvation Front of Romania and the Social Democratic Party, the main opposition force in Germany.

Further on, the Romanian Premier travelled to Stuttgart where he had talks with the local Prime Minister Lothar Spath, one more occasion to discuss cooperation between Romanian and German enterprises and entrepreneurs.

Meets SDP Head Brandt, Businessmen

AU2911162990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—During his official visit to Germany, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met with Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Germany. Then he had an interesting talk, at the German Associaltion of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce, with Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the German Economic Commission for the Eastern countries, and honorary president of the association. On the occasion, Petre Roman referred to the present situation in Romania, which is heading irreversibly towards democracy.

Returns, Issues Statement

AU3011104690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1024 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/11/1990—"I set out on my trip to three Latin American countries and to Germany in order to open doors, to lay out bridges likely to favour the renewal and development of some Romanian industries and in an attempt to provide for some urgent supplies required in power engineering and agriculture," Prime Minister Petre Roman, back from his official trip to Germany, stated at the Otopeni Airport.

The visit to Germany was particularly important. In less than 40 hours we managed to meet numerous personalities including Chancellor Kohl, industrialists and businessmen, several political leaders and two prime ministers of the North Rhine-Westphalia and Badenwuerttemberg lands. Those were very useful meetings. I at least am satisfied. In Latin America, the prime minister went on, I discovered, as I expected, a feeling of Latin brotherhood and clear possibilities to achieve complex projects in which the Romanian industry may be involved, to obtain resources or lease some operation capacities. I am very glad we are returning again with good news, concluded Premier Petre Roman.

Ministers Hold Trade Talks in Germany

AU2911211390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2047 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Andrei Vatasescu, minister of state for industry and trade, and Andrei Chirica, minister of communications, met in Cologne with Mr. Kaske, chairman of Siemens concern, for cooperation in the technical aspects of transport, the nummerically controlled data processing for machine tools, atomic energy and for the creation of a joint venture in the field of automatic telephone exchanges.

Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu signed at the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs a reciprocity based agreement between the governments of Romania and Germany, for creating culture and information centres in Bucharest and Dusseldorf.

Teodor Melescanu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had talks with W. Lautenschlager, state secretary in Germany's Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the present stage and the prospects of the relations between Romania and Germany.

Professor Golu Heads UNESCO Commission

AU3011105290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1022 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/11/1990—Romania's UNESCO National Commission recently held its organisation meeting in Bucharest, when its Executive Council was created, with Professor Mihai Golu as chairman and Professor George Vaideanu as secretary general. The

commission will comprise seven sub-commissions (education, exact sciences, socio-humanistic sciences, information- communications, ecology, culture and arts, youth and sports) including in their membership well-known personalities of Romanian culture and science.

The commission also drafted its 1991 programme, suggesting for debate in international symposia and seminars topics like: "Europe Subject of Education," "Major and Minor Cultures," "The Technology Gap in the New Europe," "Conservation of the National Cultural Heritage," "The Environment and Others Emergency Measures," and others.

UNEP Experts Examine Giurgiu-Ruse Pollution

AU2911211990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2039 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Following an agreement between Romania and Bulgaria on the one side and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) on the other, regarding an international expertise to be conducted by the latter in the Giurgiu-Ruse area, two UNEP experts, Dr. Robert Boldt—engineering expert—and Dr. Cornelius van der Heijden—specialist in air pollution research, director of the Dutch Institute for Public Health and Environmental Protection—were on a preliminary fact-finding visit to the Giurgiu Chemical Combine from 26 to 28 November, when they left for Ruse.

This is the UNEP experts' first investigation mission to identify and clarify the technical side of the matter (such as polluting agents etc.), after which they are expected to return with adequate equipment for the measurements proper.

Bukovina Reunification Anniversary Celebrated

AU2911162790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—On 28 November, the big hall of the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre of Iasi hosted a festivity that marked 72 years since Bukovina's reunion with the mother-country, Romania.

Beginning the festivity a group of priest, at head with Bishop Pimen Suceveanul, performed a Te Deum in the memory of the creators of the union.

Speaking next was Mr. Nicolae Lupan, founder of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" world association and of the samename branch in Bucharest (set up in 1990)—organizer of the festivity—who recalled significant moments and the personality of some of the creators of the union. He was followed by guests from Kishinev—writers Victor Prohin, Nicolae Negru, Ion Gherman, Aurel Ciocan and others, as well as by members of the branches of the cultural association "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina".

Towards the end of the festivity, Mr. Ion Puiu, vice-chairman of the Bucharest branch, read the "Declaration of the Romanian People's Right" unanimously adopted the previous day by the first extraordinary congress of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" association.

The document asserts the Romanian people's right "to be sovereign and exercise its sovereignty in the territory delimited by the frontiers set in 1918 in Kishinev, Chernovtsy and Alba Iulia", "an essentially democratic right since it is underlain by the principle of national majority and enforced by the historic right"; the determination of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" association is stated "to work most resolutely and with all legal and democratic means" to "make the Romanian state do its duty.... And reject officially and categorically the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty", to notify the United Nations that in Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and Herta it is not the Romanian people that is sovereign but an occupying state whose only justification is force".

The document is to be sent to the president, prime minister and parliament of Romania as well as to the United Nations representatives to Romania and to all embassies in Bucharest.

At the end of the festivity, actors of the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre and the "Gavril Musicescu" choir, conducted by Anton Visoc, and the choir of the "Moldova" Philharmonic gave a performance.

Rally Demands Open Borders

AU2811210690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/11/1990—Wednesday, Suceava was the venue of an impressive civic rally to mark the historic act of November 28, 1918 when, after a long foreign occupation, Bukovina was reintegrated into the motherland prior to the accomplishment of the great unions. The rally was attended by thousands of citizens who were addressed by representatives of cultural societies, learning institutes, political and ethnic groupings that pointed to the significance of Bukovina's union with Romania, expressing their fraternal solidarity with the Romanians in northern Bukovina, with their ideals of freedom and national rebirth.

At the end of the rally a motion-appeal was addressed to Romania's Parliament, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, President Mikhail Gorbachev, which demands, inter alia, the liberalization of the frontier between the two sides of Bukovina in conformity with the Charter of Human Rights, the expansion of cultural, economic and financial exchanges, the strengthening of ethnic brotherhood with the Romanians in northern Bukovina.

LIBERTATEA Comments

AU2911155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—In an article published in daily "LIBERTATEA", Historian Augustin Deac evokes the main moments of Bukovina's union with Romania.

On November 28, 1918, in Chernovtsy, Bukovina's General Congress was held, and was attended by 74 delegates of the Romanian National Council, 6 representatives of the Poles' National Council, 7 representatives of the Germans' National Council and representatives of the Bukovinean Ruthenians, as well as guests from all the other Romanian provinces.

The motion of "unconditional and forever union of Bukovina in its ancient frontiers, as far as Cheremush, Colacin and Dniester, with the Kingdom of Romania" was adopted on the occasion.

The congress sent King Ferdinand the First a telegram in Iasi, announcing the will of the Bukovina population to unite with Romania. At the same time telegrams were sent to the ministers plenipotentiary of France, Great Britain, United States and Italy in Iasi, announcing that historic act.

The act of Bukovina's union with Romania was hailed by the Romanian people. A law-decree signed by King Ferdinand the First sanctioned Bucovina's union with Romania. Abroad, that act was sanctioned by the international treaty of peace with Austria, signed on September 10, 1919.

Parliamentary Delegation of Moldova Pays Visit

AU2911214190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2136 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Vasile Nedelciuc, chairman of the Commission for Foreign Relations of the Republic of Moldova's Supreme Soviet, started Thursday, November 29, his visit to Romania, at the invitation of the Commission for Foreign Policy of Romania's Parliament.

The guest met with members of the Parliamentary Commission for Foreign Policy and of the Romanian Group in the Inter-parliamentary Union.

Vasile Nedelciu was received by executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Ministry on Citizens Ousted From Austria

AU2911211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2044 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Romania's Government decided that a Provisional Interdepartmental Commission should be formed to take over the Romanian citizens expelled from Austria, based on the protocol recently signed by the ministers of the interior of Romania and the Republic of Austria, Adrian Petrescu, the spokesman for Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said at this week's news conference. He pointed out that the commission would ensure certain facilities to the Romanian citizens expelled from Austria who came back to Romania. The Ministry of the Interior will take steps for food to be given to these people at their arrival at the Otopeni Airport and during their journey home, the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning will ensure their transport free of charge from Bucharest to the place of their residence.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also announced that the Romanian authorities decided to apply the principle of reciprocity and consequently starting 1 December 1990 the Polish tourists would travel to Romania or transit it under the same conditions as those imposed by the Polish authorities to the traffic of Romanian tourists in Poland.

Austrian Delegation Visits Resita, Caras-Severin

AU2811165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1458 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/11/1990—An Austrian delegation led by the president of the Steiermark Province, Josef Kreiner, has arrived Wednesday at Resita for a three-day visit to resume a Romanian-Austrian dialogue started at Resita in January 1990. It is expected to end Friday in a protocol and an understanding of cooperation in the economy, culture and science.

The programme of the visit also includes a trip to the areas in Caras-Severin County with a compact German population.

State Secretary Pop Holds Trade Talks in Canada

AU2911192390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Napoleon Pop, state secretary, chief of the Foreign Trade Department in the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, head of the Romanian delegation that participated in the first International Trade and Industry Fair in Quebec—FOCIQ '90, delivered an expose on the possibilities of international business in Romania, attended by many Canadian businessmen.

The Romanian delegation met with authorities of the Federal Government and of the Quebec Province Government. Talks were held at various firms with businessmen of Canada, including the diaspora, on the development of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, by attracting capital investments included

New Trade Agreement Signed With PRC

AU2911120890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0816 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/11/1990—Negotiations took place in Beijing between Constantin Fota, Romanian minister of trade and tourism, and Zheng Tuobin, minister of the economic relations and trade with foreign countries of the People's Republic of China, regarding the trade relations between the two countreis.

The two ministers signed a new trade agreement stipulating the mutual granting of the most-favoured-nation clause, the mutual pays in convertible currency, the establishment of the prices at the world market level for similar products and the support of the economic agents in the two countries to make trade operations in various forms, barter operations included, for promoting bilateral commercial ties and exchanges and especially for expanding the imports from China of various products.

The new trade agreement will start operating on January 1, 1991, but the economic agents in the two countries will be supported in concluding trade acts in the mutual interest still this year.

New Joint Consular Agreement Signed With Mexico

AU2911192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs brings to the attention of all those concerned that the Mexican Government has decided to suspend, for a six months' period, with effect from 1 January 1991, the agreeement signed with Romania on 2 January, 1978 regarding the abrogation of consular visas for holders of standard passports.

Consequently, starting from the date above, the Romanian citizens bearers of ordinary passports travelling to Mexico are supposed to secure the appropriate visa, granted free of charge, from the Mexican diplomatic missions or consular offices in Europe. Therefore, applicants will be requested to produce a return flight ticket and prove they have the necessary means of subsistence ensured during their stay in Mexico.

The Romanian relevant authorities will reciprocate the aforesaid measures to Mexican citizens holders of standard passports.

Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its understanding for the reasons that have prompted the Mexican side to take such step, and hopes the measure will be, as stated, only temporary and will not affect, in the long run, the chances of the two countries' citizens for better mutual acquaintance and rapprochement.

Efforts Continue To Repatriate Citizens in Iraq

AU2911212390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1932 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—In view of repatriating a last batch of Romanian experts (394 in number) employed by ARCIF [expansion unknown], a governmental delegation led by Mr. Dan Cristoloveanu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning, paid a visit to Iraq, reports the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who also stresses that, after negotiations, an agreement was reached which regulates the current contracts as regards the interruption of execution works and provides for the undelayed repatriation of the personnel on sites. The agreement was forwarded to the higher fora in Iraq for approval, which gave it orally and assured the delegation that they would also confirm it in writing as needed to issue exit visas for the whole personnel. On November 27, when called to the Foreign Ministry, the Iraqi ambassador to Bucharest reiterated the official undertaking of the Iraqi authorities on the soonest possible repatriation of the Romanian personnel.

Through the agency of the Romanian Embassy in Baghdad, demarches continued for an undelayed application of those covenanted by the Romanian delegation that visited Iraq. During their stay in Iraq another 82 persons of the 394 on sites, were repatriated, the spokesman specified.

Day of Solidarity With Palestinians Marked

AU2911214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2112 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the Romanian League of Friendship with Arab Countries arranged an event Thursday [29 November] afternoon at the headquarters of the Association of International Law and International Relations—ADIRI.

Attending were Mr. Fuad Bitar Palestinian ambassador to Bucharest, ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps from Arab countries accredited to Romania, scientists, men of letters and journalists.

Mr. Craciun Ionescu, chairman of the league, addressed the audience stressing among other things that the anniversary of the day of international solidarity with the Palestinian people instituted by the UN General Assembly at its autumn session in 1977 was an opportunity for all the Palestinian people's friends to express their support for its fight to win its legitimate rights.

A just settlement of the Palestinian issue, the speaker said, is today more than ever before the key of any global settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, as well as an end to the suffering the armed confrontations caused to the peoples in that part of the world.

Showing its active support and solidarity with the Palestinian people, the Romanian League of Friendship With Arab Countries states that, through political negotiations held in an atmosphere of goodwill and with a realistic spirit, a solution could be found in the shortest possible time to the complex problems in the Middle East, to the Palestinian question included, in the interests of all those living in that area as well as of peace and understanding among all the peoples in the world, the League's chairman said in conclusion.

In his address, Mr. Fuad Bitar, ambassador of the State of Palestine, referred inter alia to the constant friendship between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people in its fight for self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, inclusive of its right to set up its own state.

Turkish Military Delegation Visits Romania

AU2911192990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—A military delegation of the Turkish Army, led by Army General Necip Torumtay, chief of staff of Turkey's Armed Forces, visited Romania from 26 to 29 November.

The delegation was received by and had talks with the Romanian Minister of National Defense Colonel General Victor Stanculescu and met with Secretary of State and Chief of Staff Colonel General Vasile Ionel. The delegation were also shown military units, educational institutions and commanding units' places of economic and touristic interest.

The talks evinced the cooperation relations between the two armies in the new context of expanded contacts between Romania and Turkey. The two sides identified new ways and means to extend this new cooperation in the interest of both parties, in the spirit of the profound changes occurring in the Balkans and on the entire European continent.

Legal Conditions Offered to Foreign Investors

AU2911163390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1243 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—In an interview with daily ADEVARUL of November 29, Misu Negritoiu, secretary of state with the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Investments and Economic Assistance, makes some points about the conditions offered to foreign investors by the Romanian state. The law of commercial companies as well as the bill of foreign investments, Misu Negritoiu shows, do not discriminate at all between foreign and Romanian investors in point of setting up and registration of the commercial companies. So, all investors are to obey by the same procedure. This facilitates tremendously the approval of foreign investments in Romania, eliminating any arbitrary and bureaucratic tendency to turn down the applications or procrastinate their granting.

The bill grants the same legal status to all investors, irrespective of citizenship or, if the case may be, nationality, and guarantees that the investment will be subject all along its existence to the legal regime in force at the date of its carrying into effect. The bill stipulates the guarantees offered by the Romanian state to foreign investors, i.e. guaranteed right of ownership of all assets and capital they bring to Romania, the right to participate in the enterprise's administration according to the contracts and charters covenanted, to transfer their contracted rights and duties to other Romanian and foreign investors. Actually, the guarantees given to foreign investors are similar to those given in other countries with a market economy, interested in attracting foreign capital, as well as a string of facilities of a fiscal, customs and currency nature. The bill stipulates that the investment made may not be subject to nationalization, expropriation or other like measures, unless demanded by public interest and with payment of due compensation. The bill also provides for the possibility of complete transfer abroad of the profit made in free currency and of a share from the profits in lei, etc.

In concluding the interview, Misu Negritoiu points also to other advantages offered by Romania namely its geographic position, resources, industrial infrastructure, properly skilled and relatively cheap manpower.

1 Dec National Day Celebrations Prompt Comments

UDMR Issues Statement

AU2911123790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0954 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/11/1990—The presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] released a statement which reads inter alia:

For the national minorities in Romania, the day of December 1, 1918, the day of fulfilling all Romanians' century-old hopes, is of special significance owing to the Alba Iulia resolution making the festive anniversary of that event into a source of hope in the ensurance and observance of minorities' individual and collective rights.

Appreciating that that resolution represents "a masterpiece of the law", the statement expresses the conviction that "the acceptance and implementation of that resolution stipulations guarantee not only the re-birth of the hopes of all Hungarians in Romania who have been humiliated and frustrated of any rights in the last decades but also the development and welfare of the Romanian state".

The statement concludes by asking the members of the union to celebrate that event with the necessary dignity.

Interior Ministry Urges Calm

AU2911214890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2123 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—In connection with the celebration on December 1 of Romania's National Day, and with a view to imparting a due, solemn character to this unparallelled moment in the country's history, the Ministry of the Interior made a statement showing that the demonstrations to be staged should take place in a decent and civilized climate of peace and full harmony among all the participants, virtues specific to the Romanian people.

The units of the Ministry of the Interior assure the population that all the measures have been taken to guarantee public order as well as the citizens' rights and liberties, the statement also says.

Discussed by Iliescu, PUNR Delegation

AU2811212590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2111 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received, at Cotroceni Palace, Wednesday, 28 November, a delegation of the Romanians' National Unity Party (PUNR), headed by Prof. Ioan Al. Crisan, party chairman. The discussions concentrated on the celebration soon of Romania's National Day.

The PUNR delegation voiced their party's determination to contribute, by all the means available, to maintaining a climate of understanding and cooperation between all political and social forces, so as to create conditions for a decent celebration of this crucial moment in the history of Romania.

President Iliescu welcomed the position of the PUNR and expressed his conviction that every citizen of this country shares the desire for a propitious atmosphere at moments of such an elevated national communion.

National Union for Victory of Revolution Set Up

AU2811214290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] ROMPRES reports that, upon the initiative of the Democratic Union Alliance, the National Union for the Victory of the Revolution was established this evening, with the aim of redressing the country's disastrous situation by immediately appointing an interim national unity government and organizing primaries.

The signatories of the foundation document of the union, an act which took place at the Headquarters of the Democratic Unity Party in Bucharest, are the Democratic Union Party, the Party for Honoring the Heroes of the Revolution and for National Salvation, the Romanian National Party, the Romanian Democratic Party, the Romanian Christian Social-Democratic Party, the Party of the Romanian House of Democratic Europe, the Republican Union Party, the Democratic Unity Party, the Computer Trade Union, and other independent persons.

The founders invite all the other political and apolitical forces, trade unions, associations, leagues, and other similar groups to adhere to the National Union for the Victory of the Revolution. The declaration of its principles will be publicized.

Mayor on 'Urgent Questions' Facing Bucharest

AU3011104890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0908 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/11/1990—During a press conference Nicolae Oproiu, Bucharest mayor-general, referred to certain urgent questions confronting Bucharest mayorship.

Among the many aspects approached noteworthy are those related to housing problems. To this end the mayorship intended to ask the government for a derogation according to which works at the present residential areas be not interrupted this winter. It was appreciated that the programme of building 40,000-44,000 flats could not be implemented. As far as the commercial spaces for private companies are concerned, the mayor showed that about 1,500 petitions had been approved out of the total 18,000 petitions, and only 500 of them were carrying out a certain activity, but many of those activities did not correspond to the authorizations given. Following that situation a due analysis will be made again of each petition and authorizations will be withdrawn when disorders are found out.

In connection with goods supply, the mayor emphasised the existence of many disorders in the sale of goods to the population leading to great difficulties in the supply.

As far as other problems were concerned such as lighting, lack of water and heat, sanitation the mayor-general appealed to the population for the proper administration and care of the blocks of flats, of the spaces around them, of the streets.

Senate Discusses Labor Conflicts, Other Issues

AU2911211790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2040 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—The Senate continued Thursday its debates in plenum.

Before passing on to examining the bills in the agenda by articles, some senators asked the government various questions and advanced proposals for the elimination of certain anomalies still to be met in several economic and sociocultural sectors.

Debates were then resumed on the bill regarding labor conflicts. After long pro and con discussions, the Articles 32 to 37 were unanimously endorsed, with special concern being shown for the observance of the strikers' rights as a component part of the charter of human rights as well as for the safeguarding of general economic interests which could be affected by an unjustified strike.

In the second half of the Senate's session, Mr. Alexandru Birladeanu, its president, gave a riposte, co-sponsored by Mr. Dan Martian, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, to the particularly serious accusations the daily "ADEVARUL" brought in its November 28 issue to the activity of the Parliament and parliamentarians in Romania. The Senate's president underscored that the riposte was a duty of the Standing Bureau to take a critical attitude towards those unprincipled and unrealistic articles published in the press, diminishing in no way its liberty to openly and constructively show disagreement with the negative phenomena in our society currently at the beginning of consolidating its democracy abolished for almost 50 years.

Several senators representing various parliamentary groupings took the floor to show their disagreement and protest at the way in which "ADEVARUL" and other publications speak about the parliamentary activity. They underscored the need that, by virtue of the freedom of the press, the journalists attending the sessions of the Senate and the Chamber of deputies should become true messengers of the democratic debates under way both on the bills submitted for approval and on the phenomena tormenting our society, objectively inform their readers in the country and abroad also displaying morality and civism.

Next, the bill regarding government's authorization to establish or modify taxes, and the report of the mediation commission on government's organization and functioning were also submitted for debate and endorsed.

The Senate's work will continue in plenum on December 3.

Defense Minister Addresses Assembly Session

AU2911211190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2050 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—The plenary session of the Assembly of Deputies started Thursday with the government and ministers' answers to questions previously asked by parliamentarians. The questioned party seemed to have managed, to a large extent, to clarify a number of issues in various spheres of activity, still viewed as ambiguous.

Colonel General Victor Stanculescu reasserted, once more, that, as early as 1968, Romania ceased to take part in military actions in other countries' territories, rejected such actions in its own territory and made no statements favorable to such actions for the future, despite recent allegations to this effect by foreign sources. Relative to certain organizations recently established in the Army, he termed them as "pressure and incitation groups", whose activities are directed at destabilizing the Army and are therefore "incompatible" with the military regulations in force, with the basic principles of the Romanian Army the main purpose of which is to defend the country's sovereignty and integrity, the state's order of law. In the context, the general expressed his "astonishment" and "indignation" at the publicity such organizations still enjoy in some newspapers published in this country.

Answering previous interpellations were also Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu, Agriculture and Food Industry Minister Ioan Tipu, Justice Minister Victor Babiuc, and Health Minister Bogdan Marinescu.

The Romanian Radiotelevision President Razvan Teodorescu's address arrested the attention of the deputies. He particularly stressed the idea that, for the Romanian Radiotelvision compulsory are only the communiques issued by Romania's parliament and presidential quarters, these being elected organs of the state power.

Interior Ministry Reorganization Reported

AU2911214390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2131 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—A news conference was held Thursday [29 November] afternoon at the Ministry of the Interior with members of the Parliamentary Commission set up in support of reorganizing that ministry. On the occasion, Mr. Rene Radu Policrat (National Liberal Party), chairman of the commission, enlarged on the parliamentarians' contribution to the observance of democratic principles in reorganizing the ministry's activity and to the elimination of the compromised elements. In the context, he showed that some 6,000 incompetent cadres were dismissed and only those who proved genuine patriotism, who were not compromised and are competent were kept in office.

To meet the demands, the police needs 78,000 appropriately equipped (with transport means, fast telecommunication means, computers, and so on) cadres said deputy Ion Oltea Toana.

It was stressed that the bill regarding the reorganization of the Ministry of the Interior which has been tabled to the parliament had already been worked out and other bills were to be elaborated and submitted to the legislative forum for approval with regard to the policeman's gendarm's and fireman's status.

Jiu Valley Miners Comment on Trade Union Issues

AU2911192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—A communique "ROMPRES" received from the League of Jiu Valley Miners' Free Unions says its coordinating board decided that the 34 unions making up the league, with a membership of more than 60,000, should no longer recognize Romania's Federation of the Miners' Unions, considered to be inefficient and unable to keep the pace with the all-country union activity.

The coordinating board of the said league, shows the communique, launched an appeal to all the miners' unions in the country that are aware of the importance of the trade union unity for the miners' future to get in touch with its executive bureau and set up nationwide miners' unions on democratic principles.

Iliescu Receives Research Trade Union Delegation

AU2911193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, met Thursday with representatives of the Trade Union Federation and the Administration Council Union of Research and Design Institutes. During the talks the president was informed about the problems confronting Research and Design Institutes as regards organization and financing, more particularly in the next two years till the finalization of the new economic structures.

The trade union representatives requested assistance in government's making decisions apt to replace the law regarding scientific research and the status of the personnel working in the domain. Such decisions would regulate the financing of research institutes as well as the way in which they can be organized when the laws concerning public corporations and commercial companies are applied to the economy, all while considering the specific character of research and design activities.

PNT-cd Leader on Current Economic Difficulties

AU2811141390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1147 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/11/1990—In an interview with daily "LIBERTATEA", Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], points out that in Romania's present situation "any government would have confronted the same difficulties. Of course one can't blame the economic difficulties only on the government. The difference is that the present government increased them through an inadmissible manner of governing."

"If Romania had had a stable and credible government it would have had the chance to receive foreign investments" he considers.

Asked if in the present impasse he thinks other political formations, like the PNT-cd, could assume the responsibility of governing, Corneliu Coposu said: "the answer is very difficult. We have an organized structure, with departments in all domains, a sort of shadow government. We have studied all the pressing problems now confronting the country".

Accusing the National Salvation Front of maneuvering to prevent the existence of an efficient parliamentary opposition, the leader of the PNT-cd states: "as the parliamentary opposition proved inefficient, we have decided to take it outside the parliament. This is the explanation for our tendency to form a convention of the united opposition in order to try to prevent Romania from deviating towards a new totalitarianism, in fact he emphasized, bringing up again his party's position about the May 20 elections we consider the Parliament as illegal and unrepresentative".

Referring to the signification of the Communist Party's reemergence under a new name, Corneliu Coposu said inter alia: "from a conceptual point of view we cannot oppose the appearance of a political ideology. (...) but from a subjective point of view I deem it a monstrous nerve for people who strangled the Romanian people along 43 years of communist dictatorship to show their faces in the light again".

* Communique on Front Meeting in Alba Iulia

91BA0096A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Communique]

[Text] Representatives of the coordinating councils of the National Salvation Front in Bihor, Brasov, Cluj, Covasna, Harghita, Hunedoara, Sibiu, Satu Mare, and Alba met in Alba Iulia, the historic capital of the Romanian people, on 27 October 1990.

On this occasion, the following issues were discussed:

I. The political analysis of the current situation in the National Salvation Front.

II. The preparation and carrying out of local elections and of the National Convention of the National Salvation Front.

III. The platform-program of the National Salvation Front.

As a result of the discussions, the representatives of the participating councils make the following statements, by mutual agreement:

I. The postelection period means for the National Salvation Front a period for pertinent analyses of the socio-economic development of the country and the place and

role of our group in the political landscape of Romania. In this context, the participants believe it is necessary for the Front organizations to work for their reinforcement by attracting new members from the ranks of the youth, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and specialists, regardless of nationality and religious beliefs.

II. In the immediate future, the priority concerns will be the preparation, organization and carrying out of the elections, under good conditions, in organizations at all levels. This action should serve as an occasion for profound analyses of the activity carried out up to now, with an in-depth explanation of the political doctrine of the National Salvation Front, and an occasion for the promotion into the leadership structures of authentic political leaders, with an irreproachable morality and professionalism, uncompromised leaders with certain prospects for positive evolution.

III. The participants in the discussion believe that the reform program proposed by the government is part of the platform-program of the National Salvation Front and they support the continuing acceleration of the processes of moving on to a market economy, of democratizing society and of implementing some complex social welfare actions. Also, it is necessary to accelerate the drafting of legislation which will support the reform program and create the framework for the functioning of new democratic structures in Romania.

IV. The participants support the promotion of an open and permanent dialog among the organizations of the Front and other political groups with a social-democratic orientation, with youth and trade union organizations, with professional associations, with the religions, on the essential problems of Romanian society. Also, we state that we are open to dialog with all political groups and parties on major problems of national interest.

V. We believe that the Platform-Program of the National Salvation Front should properly reflect the actual situation in Translyvania, the nationality problem and interethnic relations. We state our support for the respecting of fundamental human rights and freedoms, for all citizens of the country, without discrimination and without privileges. We note, with regret and amazement, that in some counties in Translyvania extremist elements of the Hungarian minority are persevering in the promotion of some practices aimed at the intimidation of the Romanian element and are engaging in insults, threats, moral and physical aggression and desecration of national symbols—all for the purpose of "purging" the Romanians and forming enclaves. The participants reaffirm the fact that Romania is a sovereign and independent unitary national state and her citizens are equal in rights and obligations to the common homeland and are at home in any corner of the country.

VI. We propose to the Romanian Parliament that the new Constitution provide for the prohibition of the formation and establishment of political parties based on ethnic criteria, since such parties are factors for destabilization and for maintaining and accentuating conflict situations. Also, we demand that the government give evidence of much more firmness in protecting the Romanian population in Harghita, Covasna and Mures counties and in the application of the laws of the country in the fields of education and state administration over the entire nation and in each county and locality individually.

VII. We, the participants in the Alba Iulia meeting, express our solidarity with the position of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on the maintenance and consolidation of the national state and we condemn the efforts of some ethnic groups to destroy state unity.

VIII. On the occasion of the celebration of the National Day of Romania, on 1 December 1990, we make a fervent appeal to all inhabitants of the country, to Romanians everywhere, to achieve a national consensus, unity of thought, feeling and action for ensuring the prosperity of our homeland, Romania.

IX. We, the representatives of the county councils of the National Salvation Front, participants in the Alba Iulia meeting give homage and our tribute of gratitude to all the heroes of the people, of the Revolution of December 1989 who, by the supreme sacrifice, have made it possible to maintain and affirm the national being of the Romanians and to democratize Romanian society.

Alba Iulia, 27 October 1990
Representatives of the Coordinating Councils of the National Salvation Front in the Participating Counties

Poll on Leadership Popularity, Price Liberalization

AU2611174190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1612 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/11/1990—Fifty-eight percent of Romania's population trust President Ion Iliescu and only 28 per cent do not trust him, shows a poll conducted over November 18-21 by the Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Polls on a batch of 2,073 people representing the entire population of the country over 17 years of age.

Only 25 per cent of the people polled are contented with the activity of the Assembly of Deputies and 49 per cent are discontented. At the same time, only 33 per cent trust Mr. Adrian Severin, minister of state, 23 per cent trust Mr. Anton Vatasescu, minister of state, and 30 per cent trust the three ministers, or do not have a clear attitude or do not know them.

The poll also shows that 46 per cent of the people polled consider that the majority of the population is against the liberalization of prices, while 22 per cent opine that most of the people are for the price-liberalization drive.

Asked how they assess the material status of their families, 51 per cent said "neither good nor bad", two per

cent—"very good," 31 per cent—"good", 13 per cent—"bad" and three per cent—"very bad".

Shareholding Companies Set Up in Construction

AU2811165990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1553 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/11/1990—By government decisions all units of the construction materials industry department in the Resources and Industry Ministry are re-organised as share holding commercial companies. As a result, 68 commercial companies are set up that engage in industry, research and development, trade, and port operation. This is a decisive step toward the market economy and higher profits in this branch. It is the first economic department the units of which are organised as share holding commercial companies.

Construction Trade Union Holds Protest Rally

AU2911212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2034 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/11/1990—The Federation of Construction and Building Materials Free Trade Unions staged, Thursday [29 November] afternoon, a meeting in protest to the government's decision to close down, starting 1 December 1990, all building sites in Bucharest.

Until next spring, when building sites reopen, builders will be paid 75 percent of their salaries, which will then be deducted from their incomes.

Union leaders have lodged a protest with the government, for an appropriate handling of their unsatisfactory situation.

Status of Autonomous Companies Described

AU2811131790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/11/1990—As seen by the government, based on law No. 15/1990, stated in a news conference Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state for economic orientation, the autonomous companies are set up in sectors associated with public utilities and of economic and social consequence for the population as a whole. They are organized upon the ministries' proposal, based on their dialogue with every individual economic union and they should consequently be the result of the parties' consent. It is up to the economic agents to decide whether to join in an autonomous company or opt for a company of local interest or a commercial company.

Autonomous companies have been set up so far in mining, production of weapons, communications, railway transport, gas supply, electricity production and supply. The formation of autonomous companies is not a final point.

The government does not agree with the current race for formation of autonomous companies for two reasons: First, the freedom of action of enterprises and commercial companies must not be mortgaged for a long period of time, and second, for, the state cannot finance such companies out of the budget indefinitely. [sentence as received] The law stipulates state subsidies for four years at the most, with annual reductions in the quotas.

Enterprises the remunerativeness of which is doubtful are tempted to make up autonomous companies of national importance. Or, if they are given priority in becoming commercial companies, the chances of reorganization of production, technology and financial administration grow, allowing them to turn profitable sooner. As many as 19 autonomous companies and over 400 commercial companies have been set up so far, which resulted in the dismantlement of a big number of industrial departments.

Minister Tipu Comments on Drought Damages

AU2811165790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1547 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/11/1990—The good start of 1990 notwithstanding agriculture was faced with a prolonged drought, which has posed numerous difficulties, said Ioan Tipu, minister of agriculture, in a televised interview. The drought affected maize, technical plants, sunflower and soy beans cultures, which has rendered the ensurance of animal fodder difficult. A hard-currency effort will be needed in this area.

This year's cereal production, Mr. Ioan Tipu also said, meets the population's consumption requirements for bread and a number of industrial products and creates a state reserve lasting three-to- four months.

Referring to the per-capita consumption of major products, the minister said: As compared with 40 kilograms of meat consumed last year, this year the consumption of meat will stand at 65-66 kgs per capita, which means a 58 percent rise. Growths will be registered in the consumption of eggs (more than 50 percent), of milk and diary products (57 percent) and of bread (mention should be made of the fact that bread consumption in Romania is twice that of common market countries).

This winter, Mr. Tipu added, we will be able to meet requirements for meat and cereals, but there will be shortages of edible oil and sugar, as well as of fodder for animals.

We hope to be able to meet all the needs this year, the minister said in conclusion.

Commercial Bank To Begin Operating 1 Dec

AU2811145090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1105 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/11/1990—The Romanian Commercial Bank will start activity on December

I, as a joint stock company, says Valeriu Mosoeanu, vice-president of the bank. Its setting up, through the separation from the National Bank of Romania of the commercial activity is one of the steps taken by the government for the provision of the requisites for implementation of the market economy mechanisms. This marks the beginning of the banking reform.

The whole activity of the Romanian Commercial Bank will be underlined by the principles of remunerativeness, banking cautiousness and competence, a permanent preoccupation, to ensure its own liquidity, the promotion of a supple and selective system of granting credits. Through credits, it will encourage the development of activities relying upon principles of remunerativeness and efficiency and, if need be, it will deter tendencies toward uneconomical or speculative activities.

Any natural or juristic person (autonomous company, commercial company of any kind with state-owned, mixed or private capital, small enterprises, associations, etc) wishing to handle banking and financial operations at home and abroad, may become a customer of the Romanian Commercial Bank.

To begin with, the only share-holder of the Romanian Commercial Bank is the state but, with the growth of the capital, any natural or juristic person at home or abroad may become a share-holder by buying stock issued to this end.

The foreign banks in Romania are a helpful and necessary presence in the present context of transition to a competition-oriented economy. With the extension of the prerogatives, the respective banks are also allowed to operate in the market a wide range of instruments and work with all categories of public. So, as regards the hard currency operations, the economic agents may choose the financing bank from among both Romanian and foreign banks.

Press Department Deplores Slanders Against Army

AU2811210890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/11/1990—The Romanian Army Press Department made a statement which says among other things:

"The denigrating names called at high-rank Army officials, at other persons representing the military institution, in the daily ROMANIA LIBERA, obviously attempt to diminish the confidence of the Romanian troops in their superiors, to weaken their esprit de corps, the unity of thinking and action of the military body entrusted by the people with the fundamental mission of keeping a vigilant eye on the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The military put on the reserve, the statement further shows, are alien to the military body and, consequently, their brutal, destabilising interference in the affairs of the military institution is by no means justified. Their attitude is an irresponsible offence against the active military's capability and modernization process in the Army, in compliance with the regulations and ordinances in force.

At a time when the whole Romanian nation is preparing for the celebration of the National Day on 1 December in a climate of true togetherness and communion, we once more reassert the determination of the Romanian Army to defend the gains of the December 1989 revolution, to change our own internal patterns in keeping with the democratic road Romania has embarked upon, to watch over the Romanian people's work and peace of mind," the statement winds up. [quotation marks as received]

Need To Restore Prestige of Army Expressed

AU2711084990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[E. Mihaescu article: "The Army Has Problems!"]

[Text] On 22 December 1989, when it seemed that all the communist structures had fallen (later events, however, demonstrated exactly the opposite), the Army was the only national institution that was functioning and ensured, at least for the moment, the success of the people's anticommunist movement. The well-known slogan: "The Army is with us!" came out of hundreds of thousands of hearts; since then, it has become a symbol of our unity in the struggle against dictatorship and totalitarianism. There is no doubt that the action of the Romanian Army—fraternizing with the huge masses of demonstrators and fighters on the morning of 22 December—was a remarkable action. Let us reflect for a moment: What would have happened if the Romanian Army had acted in the way the Chinese Army acted in Tienanmen Square only six months prior. Much to its glory and dignity, the Romanian Army was together with the people and that is why it deserves eternal praise and gratitude. As a result of its actions, after the revolution, our Army was surrounded with true love by all the people of this country, by all the political forces; however, the Army has its own proper place, far removed from passion and obsessions, which is the neutral guarantee of the democratic process in our country.

To grant the Army institution maximum credibility is what most of us have believed in and most of us wished; however, things seem to have taken an unwelcome turn in this respectable institution of our country. As in our whole socioeconomic life, here too, the obscure or open forces of the new dictatorship—which is in the process of installation—are making themselves felt and it seems that they are imposing their own laws. Our Army risks becoming what it used to be: minimalized, humiliated, undermined in its dignity, and unprofessional—that is, to be permanently at the service of a totalitarian power. This fact could be seen as early as the beginning of the year when the Army was ordered to guard the so-called state objectives and later, on 18 February when the

young soldiers unwillingly had to play a role in the staged attack on the government. On the evening of 3 June, a televised appeal was made to paratroopers. In the period June-August our editorial bureau received a complaint about a dossier of about 14 pages, drafted by a certain section of the Army, in which—in the clearest Stalinist style—the rebirth of the Iron Guard movement in the historical parties and in the student movement could be noted. The material was intended for the training of officers. The complaint came from a group of officers who considered this material to be a true instigation to genocide. I wrote about this fact in the 23 August 1990 issue of the daily DREPTATEA, and thus I sounded the alarm. The Army Press Bureau responded on Romanian Television, saying it considered our text as not being in accordance with reality.

The recent communique published by the CADA-ADM [Commission for the Democratization of the Army-Action for Military Justice] in ROMANIA LIBERA on 8 November 1990 throws a clear light on the state of affairs in the Army. The communique mentions a "lack of interest in and even annihilation of the reforming process in military life" and the fact that Romania is "concerned with establishing and reasserting the national Army on the basis of new modeling and purging principles, through a real democratization process."

CADA-ADM notes "with increasing concern the freezing of the renewal process in the Army and the moving away from the reality of democratic principles, which results in the unprecedented and unacceptable lowering of the prestige of this institution." Starting from these facts, CADA-ADM submits "for discussion and draws the attention of the public and military personnel" to nine objectives, the most important of which is certainly the one that foresees "the reorganization of the military institution on democratic bases." This is an action which must contain "specific changes in the style of work and interpersonal relations, in ways of improving the organizational structures, in the way the selection and promotion of military cadres on scientific principles is carried out, placing everything on the basis of truth, justice, and the honor of all categories of soldiers, regardless of rank or position." We place great importance and significance all those objectives which foresee, among other things, establishing the truth about the Army's participation in the events of December 1989. We also place great importance on increasing the current state leadership's concern to ensure the proper supply of equipment to the Army, halting the reorganization of former political bodies and counter-information under false appearances, categorically preventing the participation of any element of the military structure in actions to repress people's demonstrations—which, by their nature, do not endanger the existence of the legal state—and an immediate halt to the practice of using the Army again to carry out economic tasks.

There are two issues that define the condition of the Romanian soldier and the Romanian military institution: the need to set certain rules that should restore the military institution to the social rank it used to have before the installation of communism in our country, and the CADA-ADM appeal to our military cadres to take a stand against "all attempts to compromise the military institution, the recent attempts to rehabilitate the repressive Securitate apparatus, attempts to use the Army as an instrument to sabotage strikes organized by trade unions, because we realize that such actions can lead only to the sowing of hatred between the Army and the people, upon which the Army took the oath."

* Role of Army, Chance of Coup Examined

91P20040A Paris LIBERATION in French 19 Nov 90 p 25

[Gilles Schiller article: "The Romanian Army in a Political Role"]

[Text] A year after the fall of the Ceausescu regime, the crisis, both political and economic, continues to shake the ruling circles in Bucharest. The hypothesis of a coup by the Army is considered seriously.

Report from our special correspondent in Bucharest: Anton Vatacescu, a placid engineer, a pipe-smoker, propelled to the rank of minister in the Romanian Government thanks to well-placed ties of friendship, is one of the four fathers of Romanian economic reform. However, if anyone talks to him about the Army he loses his cool: "We are a government sacrificed for a dark period. If you carry out a military coup, that means that you have a solution. No one here is crazy enough to want to seize power, especially the Army."

The minister is the only one to think this way. From Dan Lazarescu, survivor of the Romanian gulag and liberal deputy ("A Gordian knot calls for a saber to cut it") to Gabriel Andreescu, philosopher and prime mover of the Group for Social Dialog ("On such a fragile terrain as ours, the Army remains an important reference point"), to Claudiu Iordache, first vice president of the National Salvation Front ("In a period of social crisis, the Army could leave its barracks in order to maintain national cohesion") everyone is unanimous. The current boss of the Army, General Stanculescu, is waiting for his hour to come. According to Gabriel Andreescu, Stanculescu's role, in a political situation which still remains confused, almost a year after the "revolution," remains "unpredictable." Even the ecologist Senator Bleahu would be able to accomodate himself to a military regime: "We are in a situation of economic, political, and moral distress. Stanculescu will be our recourse, between Iliescu who still believes in the moral virtues of communism and Roman who says one thing in Paris and another thing in Bucharest and who lacks the broad-based political support needed for the passage of his economic reform. Perhaps a military dictatorship could arrange things a bit. That might seem paradoxical but in this country where they dared to cry 'death to the intellectuals' in June, we live in the era of terror for democracy." When Stanculescu passed up the reception for the anniversary of the October Revolution at the Soviet Embassy on 7

November, he became the star of the event in absentia. A few days earlier, he had given strong homage to General de Gaulle. "This man calculates all his movements and leaves nothing to chance," an observer says.

With his friend General Milea "driven to suicide" by Ceausescu on 22 December, and his crony Vasile Ionel, the current head of the General Staff, Victor Stanculescu seems to have had the mainspring of the military part of a "plot." An army which no longer hides its discontent for having been transformed by Ceausescu "into a sort of second working class" which aroused a "certain resistance" from some of the officers, Colonel Nicolae Ciobanu explains. As a result of his role in the December events, Stanculescu is still very popular with the Army and also among the people, and he has kept from being associated with the original "lies" of their regime. However, he is more than discreet in regard to the well-known "terrorists," acknowledging that the military court arrested 1,200 of them but most were allowed to go free "in the confusion."

"After December, Stanculescu showed his skill in surmounting all obstacles encountered," a higher officer says. First, as minister of the economy, he managed the postrevolutionary period. It is not yet the time for reform but for emergency measures: the feeding of the people and the end to rationing. Two military men are the target of the opposition: General Ion Militaru, fired in 1983, friend of Ion Iliescu, appointed minister of defense on 22 December; and General Mihai Chitac, minister of defense [as published] accused of being responsible for the repression in Timisoara. Victor Stanculescu carefully avoids linking up with his colleagues. On the contrary, he has a hard time hiding his support for the young officers in CADA [Action Committee for Democratization of the Army], established on 6 January. CADA mixes "corporate" demands (better structures, reorganization of the style of command, inspection of equipment) and other more political demands around the "refusal" to see the Army excluded from the "democratization" process. One of the prime movers of this group of officers, Colonel Ion Barbuta, is one of his closest associates. He is the one who is carrying on the offensive against Militaru, who is accused of being "a KGB agent." Ion Barbuta was shocked to see reserve cadres close to Militaru return to center stage. "While people were dying in the streets, they were concerned about their promotions," he said.

When hundreds of officers demonstrated on 12 February of this year, Militaru refused to receive their representatives, forcing Petre Roman to go on the offensive. Stanculescu was silent. He knows that CADA is popular in the Army; according to a confidential poll taken after its dissolution on 14 June, in the press of the cleanup of Bucharest by the miners, 37 percent of some 20,000 Romanian officers said that they support CADA.

All the initiatives carried out since then, that of Colonel in the reserves Radu Nicolae, a close associate of Militaru who created GAMA (Action Group for the Modernization of the Army), like that of the General Staff which initiated ADCM (Democratic Association of Military Cadres) have not been able, at present, to counterbalance the influence of CADA. CADA still believes that the democratization of the Army, "despite all efforts," is a "sham" and he condemns the "old (communist) structures of the Army reactivated under other names." This does not displease Stanculescu, who is engaged in a broad reform of the Army which has already resulted in a draft law on reform of the Higher Defense Council—opportunely accused by CADA of being a den of "cowardly generals." Prudent and pragmatic, espousing liberal political positions, which is not a popular stand, Victor Stanculescu keeps aloof from ultra-nationalistic currents, like Vatra Romaneasca. For example, he does not hesitate to praise the "integration" of Hungarian officers in the Romanian Army. Also, he makes sure that the army "does not engage in politics." But Iliescu, who has been politically dead since the miners' affair, will fall sooner or later. Then, Stanculescu will lay his cards on the table. The regime knows this; at the time of the installation of the Romanian Government last June, 81 deputies voted against Stanculescu, which was a record. All were members of the National Salvation Front.

* Communique Urges Democratic Military Reform

91P20032A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Nov 90 p 4

[Communique of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army and Action for Military Justice]

[Text] In response to the increasing concerns of Army personnel in regard to the marginalization and even annihilation of the reform process in military life, CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] and ADM [Action for Military Justice] state the following:

I. The Romanian nation, working for the fastest possible establishment of an authentic democracy in Romania, is concerned with achieving and reaffirming a national army on the basis of new principles, modelling and purifying principles, through a real process of democratization. Analyzing the situation in a significant number of units in all branches of the armed services throughout the country, using concrete, real and comprehensive documentation, one discovers, with increasing anxiety, the stagnation of the renewal process in the Army and estrangement from the reality of democratic principles, resulting in an inadmissible and unprecedented loss of prestige by this institution. Faithful to the goals which have ensured for them the appreciation, confidence, and wide support of military cadres who desire a new, reforming process based on democratic principles, the

members of CADA and ADM express their determination to continue to work for the full implementation of the points in the Appeal of 12 February 1990.

In this context, the following objectives are submitted to the public and the military for discussion and attention:

1. The reorganization of the institution of the military on democratic bases should include specific changes in the realm of work style and of interpersonal relations, in achieving the best organizational structures, in placing the selection and promotion of military cadres on scientific bases, based on truth, justice, dignity and honor, for all categories of the military, regardless of rank and position.

2. Determining the truth in regard to the participation of the Army in all the actions undertaken in December 1989, by the appointment of a governmental and parliamentary commission which will analyze these things in the name of the truth in all localities in which there have been victims, from the ranks of the army and the Ministry of the Interior or from the civilian population, in accordance with criteria of responsibility.

3. The retirement to the reserve of reactivated generals and all military cadres with decisionmaking positions who, as a result of their activity both before and after the events of December 1989, do not give evidence that they have the qualities and capability needed for keeping their rank and position or for promotion, people who, since they are not able to adapt to the new conditions, practice methods of the old communist totalitarian regime.

4. Increasing the concern of the government for equipping and remunerating the Army in relation to its social importance, the degree of danger, and the deprivations and rigors of the service, while at the same time, establishing regulations for military cadres which would place the institution of the military at the level in society where it was situated before the installation of communism in our country.

5. Stopping the reorganization, under dissimulated forms, of the former military counterintelligence bodies and political bodies and the promotion, with maximum injustice, of former party activists and counterintelligence officers, putting them in low level positions where they do not have any input in important decisions.

6. Removing from the military justice and prosecutor's office cadres who are guilty of abuses in the application of penal law, in light of their special areas of jurisdiction (especially in regard to political infractions).

7. Making compensation for unjust actions perpetrated by those persons who were shamefully and irresponsibly promoted in rank or given assignments for which they were not qualified, by claiming that they had made an imaginary contribution to the December Revolution. These people could have caused serious damage to the social prestige of the cadres of the Army, contributing only to advancement to a position at the top of the military hierarchy.

8. Categorically avoiding the participation of all elements of the military structure in quelling popular demonstrations which would not endanger the existence of the law-governed state.

9. Ending immediately the re-use of the military for economic projects unless they are for the military themselves and do not affect the combat capability of the units involved.

II. In regard to the new realities of Romanian society, we are making an appeal to military cadres to take a stand, in the framework of the laws and military regulations, against any attempts to compromise the institution of the army, the recent attempts to rehabilitate the repressive securitate apparatus, and attempts to use the Army as an instrument of sabotage against the strikes organized by the trade unions, since we believe that such actions only lead to ill will between the Army and the people to whom it has sworn allegiance.

We are asking the minister of national defense to abandon the equivocal position adopted recently—so that, by the revitalization and the efficient coordination of the process of democratizing the institution of the military, it will respond to the aspirations of the personnel of the Army legitimized by the December revolution.

Federal Executive Council Criticizes Republics

AU2111145390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Choir of Insincere Complaining"]

[Text] Apart from some external factors like the gulf crisis and the drought, the return of inflation has also been effected by the efforts of antireform forces to bring down the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. The Information Secretariat of the FEC stressed this in its statement concerning numerous groundless criticisms of the government and its policy.

Since beginning the implementation of an anti-inflationary program, the FEC has advocated a restrictive credit-monetary policy as one of the basic levers in stabilizing economic trends. As a counter to this, a demagogic slogan has been forced onto it about a new investment cycle, although in world economic theory and practice there is no example to show that inflation can be brought under control at the same time that development is encouraged.

Wanting to finally settle accounts with the reform of the FEC on the wings of awakened inflation, some subjective factors, particularly in Serbia and to a certain extent in Slovenia, too, are trying to prevent the import of cheaper goods. In liberalizing foreign trade, the FEC wanted to achieve two aims. First, it wanted to force domestic producers to reduce their prices in the face of cheaper imported goods and second, if they did not want to or were not able to, then it wanted to force them to change the structure of production or sell the enterprise to those who could provide the workers with profit and wages. By protecting "their" production, the republican nation-states [naciokratija] want to prevent the achievement of these aims. Why? Simply because by protecting the idle and the incapable, they win votes for the upcoming elections or they consolidate power in the republics where they have already won it.

Thus, last Saturday [3 November] in Sombor, Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, announced that this republic does not agree to unfair competition from imported low-quality merchandise and that the import of foodstuffs at dumping prices is a criminal and underhanded policy of the FEC. Without going into the way the president of the republican Executive Council expresses himself, we must stress that there is simply no other way to implement socioeconomic reform in the country except by subjecting domestic products to world competition (more intensively to begin with and less so later on). Those who want to prevent this either through introducing import duties and taxes or by preventing property transformation, are actually ruining the reform. As regards agriculture, the FEC has in various ways invested more than 12 billion dinars or around $1.2 billion in it, which is both a lot and a little. It is a lot because under conditions of economic instability when agriculture is not the only economic branch in the country, this is beyond the actual capacity of the domestic economy and state, but it is little, when one considers the status and position of agriculture in 45 years of postwar development in Yugoslavia. However, to make the picture of the situation in agriculture as objective as possible, at least another two questions must be answered: First, to what extent is our processing industry oversized and inefficient (its capacity is underutilized and its labor force is large) and second, how much have the other republics, including Serbia, invested in agriculture?

The FEC is endeavoring in all ways to stop inflationary pressures and encourage reform, while the republican nation-states are trying to restore inflation and stop the changes. Serbia is doing this by preventing the functioning of a unified Yugoslav market and introducing various barriers; Slovenia by canceling federal laws and making claims about an unrealistic dinar exchange rate; Croatia by increasing personal incomes to an excessive extent and halting the transformation of ownership.... They are all doing this by complaining in unison that they are being exploited by everyone else.

Such practices can only lead to the return of inflation and general economic instability which was conquered with the adoption and implementation of the anti-inflation program of the FEC, the Information Secretariat of the FEC stresses in its statement.

Markovic Challenges Republican Leaders on Policy

AU2311155890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 90 p 2

[Djoko Kesic report: "The Prime Minister Is Launching a New Attack"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—Although the Chamber of Republics and Provinces held a session yesterday at which delegates discussed an important topic, the constitutional crisis, the main topic of Assembly talks were, after all, speculations about what the Assembly was going to produce today and the speech of Prime Minister Ante Markovic. [passage omitted]

Assembly delegates are also discussing, fairly carefully, the details of the meeting between Ante Markovic and the presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils which was held on Tuesday, 13 November. This is already an established practice prior to major Assembly sessions and the federal government's appearance in them. There are, however, a number of interesting details concerning this meeting. The meeting lasted a full eight hours. The prime minister, as we have unofficially learned, spoke for two hours, elaborating on the measures of the economic policy, but not revealing his trump cards for today's session. The meeting was attended by the presidents of all republican executive councils, except Dr. Stanko Radmilovic, president to the Executive Council of Serbia, who sent his deputy.

The meeting between the prime minister and the presidents of the republican executive councils was extremely dynamic. The most discussed issues were the dinar exchange rate, the position of the export industry, the restrictive credit-monetary policy, the position of agriculture, and the import of consumer goods. [passage omitted]

During the eight-hour discussion, which went on until midnight, most "sparks" allegedly flew in the discussion between Ante Markovic and Dr. Radoman Bozovic, president of the Executive Council of Vojvodina. As a response to the objections addressed to the federal government concerning its economic policy in agriculture—when Bozovic presented the already known views of the Vojvodina and Serbian Assemblies—Markovic asked the direct question: What have you done, and what has the federal government done for agriculture? Allegedly, Bozovic did not come up with an answer but remained "firm" to the end demanding that a statement from this meeting stresses his views.

In order for things to remain within the policy of publicizing the work of the federal government and the prime minister's readiness for the work of his cabinet to always be under the critical gaze of the public, Markovic suggested a television duel between the presidents of all republican and provincial executive councils and himself, so that the public can see who conducts which policy.

At the end of this meeting the presidents of the executive councils asked: what shall we do? The prime minister said that he was offering a concept and those who want it are welcome to take it. [passage omitted]

Markovic Holds Talks With Croat, Slovene Leaders

LD2911203890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Croatian and Slovene representatives, Presidents Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan, and Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic met today in Zagreb and held talks with FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic covering several topical political and economic issues. Stipe Mesic, SFRY Presidency vice president, participated in the talks.

Detailed talks, as reported by HINA news agency, considered problems relating to constitutional changes, the economic situation with a view to the increasingly difficult situation in which some branches of the economy find themselves, and general economic difficulities. The Croatian and Slovene representatives informed the FEC president about a demand Slovenia and Croatia lodged with the SFRY Presidency that, within the famework of political processes of democratization in the entire country and related constitutional changes, the Yugoslav National Army be depoliticized.

The talks also focused on the prospects for development, the federal government's policy for next year, and the attitude of the two republics toward the federal government.

Prime Minister Ante Markovic had talks with president of the Croatian Government, Josip Manolic, and aides. The talks considered some practical issues regarding cooperation between the republican and federal governments in overcoming the current difficulties in the economic field.

Former Defense Minister Opposes Confederal Option

AU2911122590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 90 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Admiral Mamula: The Yugoslav People's Army Is Ready To Fight for Yugoslavia's Survival"]

[Text] London, 25 Nov—The Yugoslav Armed Forces are ready to intervene and "fight for the integrity and survival of Yugoslavia as a federal state in case a serious crisis arises." This was stated in London by Admiral Branko Mamula, former federal secretary for national defense of Yugoslavia.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES quotes Admiral Mamula as saying that the type of a confederation proposed by Slovenia and Croatia is not acceptable, "because the creation of the national states of Serbs or Croats is not possible without bloodshed, or even with it."

'M-84 A' Tanks Unveiled; World's 'Most Modern'

AU2811131590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 90 p 7

[R. Pavlovic report: "New Yugoslav Tank, the 'M-84 A'"]

[Excerpt] On 3 November, Belgrade Military Technological Institute Day, the Yugoslav public was given the first look at the new "M-84 A" tank, whose production puts our country among the ranks of the few tank-producing countries. In terms of the most important combat characteristics, and its technical and technological aptitude, this tank is currently the most modern combat vehicle in the world.

Powered by a 1,000 HP engine, the "M-84 A" has special abilities which enable it to develop high speed and mobility in the most difficult conditions: It can deal with gradients of more than 60 percent and move on the ground with cross slopes of 25 percent. The new tank can handle water obstacles up to a depth of 1.8 meters without any special equipment. With the addition of special equipment it can move under water up to five meters deep for up to 1 kilometer. The "M-84 A" has exceptional maneuverability and "copes" well with turning around. The combat vehicle is very fast and can develop speeds of up to 70 km per hour on off-road surfaces.

The tank is equipped with the 125 mm smooth-bore gun. The gun has great penetrating power and is very accurate. It is loaded automatically and represents the most powerful weapon mounted on a tank. The great efficiency of the tank is facilitated by a fire-control system: a digital computer measures the distance to the target with a laser, the temperature and pressure of the air, and the speed of cross winds. "Crammed" with all other elements, the system automatically correctly aligns the gun.

The "M-84 A" has successfully passed the durability test in the hot sand of Asian deserts, even in temperatures of over 40 C. We state this because NATO combat vehicles simply did not respond in the hellish conditions. Western armies prepared tanks for winter war conditions and therefore their technology is almost useless for other conditions and terrains. For instance, the French giant, the AMX-30, was literally spinning and sinking in the desert sand. For this reason they sent somewhat lighter tanks to the front, the AMX-10.

Our tank, the "M-84 A," also overshadowed the most famous tanks in the world, the German Leopard-2 and the U.S. M-1 Abrams, which have considerable shortcomings. The entire powertrain of our tank is housed in a space two times smaller than that of modern Western tanks. [passage omitted]

Change in Military Courts' Power Not Recommended

AU2911142790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 90 p 8

["M.A."-signed report: "Nothing To Be Essentially Changed in the Powers and Organization of Military Courts and Prosecutors"]

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has assessed that nothing should essentially be changed in the powers and organization of military courts and prosecutors. It is only necessary to make certain changes and supplements in order to coordinate the Law on Military Courts and the Law on Military Prosecution with changes to the SFRY Constitution and provisions which are envisaged in the proposals for adopting a law on regular courts and a law on public prosecution, as well as with the organization of the Armed Forces.

This is stated in the assessments and stands of the SFRY Presidency which were submitted yesterday to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly with regard to the proposal by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia for changing and supplementing three laws: on military courts, military prosecutors, and the law on taking criminal action against active Army personnel.

Industrial Production Down From Last Year

AU2911140190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Industrial Production Down 10.3 Percent"]

[Text] Belgrade—Industrial production was down 10.3 percent in the first 10 months of the year, while in October it was down eight percent in relation to the same month last year. This has been announced by the Federal Statistics Institute.

The greatest fall in production in the period from January to October was reported in Kosovo and amounted to 26.7 percent while the smallest fall was in Bosnia-Hercegovina and amounted to 6.1 percent. This was followed by Montenegro with a fall of 16.5 percent, Serbia with 11.5 percent, Croatia and Serbia proper with 10.9 percent each, Macedonia and Slovenia with 10.1 percent each, and Vojvodina with 9.5 percent.

If one compares October this year with October last year, the greatest fall in industrial production was also registered in Kosovo, where it was down 37.8 percent, while in Vojvodina the reduction amounted to only 1.7 percent. Last month, industrial production in Montenegro fell by 22.2 percent, in Croatia by 10.6 percent, in Serbia proper by 9.9 percent (in Serbia with the provinces 9.2 percent), in Slovenia by 5.9 percent, in Macedonia by 5.5 percent, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina by 4.8 percent.

TV Journalists Protest Editorial Policies

Objective Reporting Said Hindered

LD2711021790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—A group of 35 journalists on the Belgrade Television current affairs program today expressed several objections to and sharp criticism of, the inclusion of pieces of information in this broadcast, and issued a public statement concerning this.

Our attempts to provide information in a nonpartisan, unbiased, and objective way, especially on pluralist life in Serbia and in Yugoslavia, were unsuccessful. The only thing we have "achieved" is our division into favorbale and unfavorable, this statement stresses.

The journalists ask that managers' responsibility for this editorial policy be determined. After many attempts within the editorial board to resolve these problems, we are finally compelled to say publicly that on our own we were unable, and are unable, to change anything. In this we are partly responsible, and we are not fleeing from this responsibility, concludes the statement of the 35 journalists on the current affairs program.

TV Editor Reacts to Demands

LD2711022390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—Behind the demand of the independent trade union of Belgrade Radio and Television to replace leading people in this organization lies a group of journalists who do not agree with the politics conducted in Serbia, nor with the editorial policy of the current affairs and political broadcast of Belgrade Radio and Television. This demand is, in fact, the work of some of the journalists trying to form a parallel editorial board in the domestic section of the current affairs broadcast. It coincides with the demand of the combined Serbian opposition which seeks resignations of the highest-ranking officials of Serbia.

This was said at today's news conference by Predrag Vitas, chief editor of the current affairs broadcast of Belgrade Television. He stressed, "the professionally unacceptable articles" in BORBA and VECERNJE

NOVOSTI, which published the independent trade union demand, and the news of the resignation of Nebojsa Jankovic as editor of DNEVNIK, "without the other side being heard."

Having stressed that he is prepared to leave the post of chief editor "if it is proved that the demands of the independent trade union are justified," Vitas considered it justified to name the colleagues who make up the council of this "parallel editorial board" because he himself was publicly named. These are Branka Mihajlovic, Rade Radovanovic, Bozidar Nikolic, Milica Lucic-Cavic, Vlada Mares, Danka Nikolic, and the final one from whom, Vitas stressed, "the mask of political orientation has fallen," Nebojsa Jankovic.

Predrag Vitas believes he has not misused the public word nor has he infringed the rules on the presentation of parties on television, because "the rules are not valid for those who have decided to boycott the elections".

According to him, it was a major oversight that there had been no reaction to the decision of the opposition, because the current affairs broadcast is not, he stressed, a service for omitting news, but "the configuration of forces in parliament." "This is a state institution which supports and implements the policy of its founder, the Serbian Assembly, but it is a fact that the program policy coincides with the program of the Socialist Party of Serbia," Vitas said. He stressed that he is not concealing his own political orientation but that in editorial policy he is trying not to be biased.

Stressing that he bears personal responsibility for the fact that he has been left almost without a team of journalists and for the fact that he has not succeeded in three years in consolidating the domestic section, Predrag Vitas said that an oversight had occurred when the broadcast of the speech by Slobodan Milosevic in Nis was repeated several times because of a misunderstanding with the Nis editorial board.

It was intimated at the news conference that after 29 November television presentations of Serbian presidential candidates will begin and that after the first round of voting a roundtable will be organzed for candidates entering the final stages of the election to confront each other directly.

Proclamation of New Communist Party Issued

AU2911140990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 90 p 8

[Text of proclamation issued at founding meeting of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia held in Belgrade on 19 November: "Proclamation for the Citizens of Yugoslavia"]

[Text]**Yugoslavia**

The aim of the party of Yugoslav Communists is the preservation of Yugoslavia, the common homeland of all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities which live in it.

Yugoslavia has been the centuries-long aspiration of the most progressive people from all communities who have lived on this territory and who have fought for this idea through science and art and work and arms. The realization of this aspiration has come up against many obstacles.

Today, these obstacles are exceptionally great and come from the aggressive right wing in the country, as well as from similar forces outside the country, which have the aim of destabilizing and disuniting Yugoslavia because of its left-wing socialist orientation.

We think that the federal community of Yugoslavia is in the interest of all its peoples and nationalities because only within this framework and together can they preserve their freedom and independence and ensure further peaceful and progressive social development. Therefore, we accept and support the idea of all-people's defense and social self-protection and the Yugoslav People's Army as their foundation. The defense of the country's freedom and independence is the most sacred duty of each of its citizens.

Socialism

The aim of the party of Yugoslav Communists is a society in which there will be no exploitation, abuse, and denigration of people. Our aim is a society in which people will be equal from the economic, political, national, and cultural point of view. At the same time, this social ideal includes a materially and culturally wealthy society which is also politically free.

The theoretical foundations which form the basis of the idea of such a society are all progressive teachings about the liberation of man from exploitation, heirarchy, poverty, and ignorance through which we have passed during our history and which we are not free of even today.

The Past and Future

The party of Yugoslav Communists will respect and develop all the great achievements of the international workers movement and socialist practice in the world and Yugoslavia which have contributed to peace among peoples, the reduction of economic and social differences among people, and the humanization of the life of every individual. Under the influence of the idea of socialism, these changes have encompassed not only the world of socialist practice but also bourgeois society, especially its most developed part.

From the historical viewpoint, the realization of the idea of socialism in the modern world as a whole and in Yugoslavia has just begun and is therefore faced with many difficulties. Every past social system has been subjected to such difficulties so not even this one can avoid them.

The communists have the responsibility to act decisively to overcome regressive and conservative moves and the outcome of social changes and to fight for that social development in the economic, political and cultural sense which is historically and morally justified

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia

The mixed ownership relations and political pluralism which are a feature of modern Yugoslav society justifiably impose the need for a political party which will also express the interests of the impoverished strata of the population, as well as those of the large number of citizens whose political activity amounts to exercising the right to vote.

Apart from that, terrible interethnic intolerance and confused values are raging through Yugoslavia today. A way out of the interethnic hatred can only be offered by a political party which has a Yugoslav character, and a way out of the confusion of values can only be offered by a political party which clearly and resolutely stresses as the highest value the economic and political freedom of the person and economic and political equality among people. All these qualities are in fact contained the political program of the Yugoslav Communists.

A society which is materially wealthy, politically fair, and culturally developed is the political aim of the Yugoslav Communists, but this is also the ideal to which subjugated peoples throughout the world have aspired for centuries. This has also been the desire of the most progressive minds in science and art in all areas of creativity through the entire course of social development. Today, the idea of a society without the exploitation and denigration of people is not only voiced by the majority of the intellectuals and educated people of our age, but it could be said that it is challenged only by extremely conservative people.

A society in which peace will prevail among peoples, in which justice will be established among people, and in which the dignity of every person is possible is the future toward which humankind is moving. Our party is facing this future, endeavoring to fight for such a society in its Yugoslav homeland.

Young people should lead the way. They should possess the initiative, action, and responsibility for the time when all people will live differently, in a better and nicer way.

The League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia supports all parties, movements, and individuals who are committed to Yugoslavia, socialism, and brotherhood and unity among the Yugoslav peoples.

Slovene Poll Shows Majority Supports Independence

AU2911205590

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 17 November on pages 1 and 3 carries a 900-word report by Slava Partlic entitled "Public About Plebiscite" on results of an opinion poll conducted in Slovenia by DELO-Stik on the plebiscite for Slovenia's independence.

According to the report, the telephone poll was conducted on 14 and 15 November among 583 of 966 telephone subscribers in Slovenia selected by computer. Others refused to cooperate (170) or could not be reached (213). The following results of the poll are presented in three bar charts with figures in percentages:

Table 1: "How would you vote if the plebiscite were held tomorrow and if the ballot paper said that on the day of the plebiscite Slovenia should become an independent state, not be a part of the SFRY?"

Yes	64.3
No	16.1
Do not know	19.6

Table 2: "In your opinion, what are the essential reasons to propose Slovenia's independence?"

Economic reasons	36.9
Political reasons	19.7
Yugoslavia falling apart	10.8
All kinds of repression	11.1
International situation	14.6
Do not know	6.9

Table 3: "Do you think that Slovenia is capable of surviving as an independent state?"

Yes, it is	49.7
Maybe	27.6
No	15.6
Do not know	7

In addition, the report contains the following poll results:

When should the plebiscite be held:	
The date should be set after the parties reach an agreement	28.6
At the end of January, as suggested by the Party of Democratic Reform	20.6
At the end of December, as suggested by Demos [United Opposition]	13.9
As soon as possible	16.1
As late as possible	7.4
Do not know	7
Do not want to say	6.4

Who should vote at the plebiscite:	
[figures as published]	
Only Slovenes	29.5
All who have permanent residence in Slovenia	28.3
Only people with Slovene citizenship	22.3
All people with the right to vote	15.8

Serbia's Milosevic Views Reform With Businessmen

AU2711202890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Report by Milorad Jovic on speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the presidency of the Republic of Serbia, in Kragujevac; date not given]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, addressed about 1,500 businessmen from 12 communes of the Sumadija and Morava regions several minutes ago. He spoke at the Kragujevac City Hall which was filled to bursting. President Milosevic devoted most of his speech to the economic situation which he deemed difficult, but not so difficult that it could not be overcome by the commitment of all economic forces of the Republic of Serbia.

Milosevic touched in particular upon the current political situation in the republic:

[Begin Milosevic recording] We are about to vote in elections. Only when the national assembly, government, and other republican organs are elected, will constitutional conditions be created for the functioning of the setup established by the new Constitution. I hope that there is no need to remind anybody that such a Constitution has in fact been adopted on the basis of the freely expressed will of the citizens of Serbia. Therefore, holding elections on time represents the first step in implementing the Constitution. I therefore believe that every Serbian citizen who takes the interests of our republic to heart—peace, freedom, and dignity of the people and all citizens of Serbia—will vote in the elections. I am convinced that such people are part of a huge majority. [applause]

As concerns the boycott of the elections that, along with many other troubles, we are confronted with recently, I do not want to comment on it at all, either on this occasion or on any other occasion before the elections, for the simple reason that an answer to this can be given by the citizens of Serbia alone, and nobody else. [applause]

This is why the elections represent the only way of deciding about the organs of power in a democratic country. This country will be democratic and just, just as we all in Serbia have envisaged it to be in the new Constitution. It has been set up in such a way that the citizens' will expressed on the basis of a direct and equal right to vote is respected regardless of whether they are members of political parties or not. For it would be wrong if citizens who are not members of political parties had fewer political rights than those who are.

Therefore, Serbia is the state of all citizens living in it, whether they are organized into political parties or not. Therefore not parties but citizens themselves can equally decide about the elections and vote in the Serbian elections. [applause]

A mass turnout at the elections will show that they are legal and democratic and the results of the elections will show what kind of society citizens have decided on. I hope that they will decide on a progressive and just society.

I wish you success in your work and success at the elections. Thank you for your attention. [applause] [end recording]

All-Serbian People's Movement Presents Platform

AU2911163690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 29 November, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Novi Sad-based All-Serbian People's Movement, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and features Zoran Vucevic, secretary, and Ilija Petrovic, member of the movement. Individual speakers are not identified. One of them speaks about the movement and says that "the movement was formally created on 27 October 1990, but its roots were in fact set much earlier, in the period when democratic processes and events started in Vojvodina in 1988, that is, the period of time when people in Vojvodina decided in favor of the united Serbia and started their struggle against separatist and autonomist processes."

"We advocate the union of all Serbs and all Serbian interests both in Serbia itself and elsewhere. We must say that since 1945 in many parts of Yugoslavia Serbs have nothing near to the rights that even national minorities enjoy. The endangerment and disenfranchisement of the Serbian people in the past 45 years have made us decide to create an all-Serb movement."

The second program lasts one hour and features Sava Grujic, president of the movement, who expounds further on the party's program and gives detailed examples of the endangerment of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia.

38 Percent of Croat Recruits To Stay in Republic

AU2911134990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 90 p 5

[Miro Krmpotic report: "Spegelj Takes Over Command"]

[Excerpts] To judge by what has been happening in Slovenia and Croatia, and not only in these republics, it would seem that apart from the inevitable de-ideologization of the Yugoslav People's Army, it is also facing gradual disintegration as a unified defense system in Yugoslavia. This process is in fact already under way. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

One's Own Home, One's Own Freedom

Thirty-eight percent of the November contingent of Army recruits from Croatia will stay in the republic. Martin Spegelj, minister of defense in the Croatian Government, has said that this proportion would continue to be increased with the aim of exercising the principle that as a rule young people should do their military service in their mother republic, and only as an exception—if there is a need because of attendance at special courses for supplying members of special units—would they serve outside the mother republic. Thus, even though republican armies are not officially being created in the Yugoslav People's Army, they actually do exist according to the Army's national composition. By consistently adhering to this principle, the republics are nevertheless acquiring their own national armies.

Croatian Defense Minister on Defense Law Changes

LD2411185690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—The recently adopted changes and amendments to the Law on All-People's Defense of the Republic of Croatia do not violate federal legislation, but implement it consistently. The only deviation is that the commander of the republic's Territorial Defense Forces is appointed by the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia. According to federal legislation, he is appointed by the SFRY Presidency with the republican Presidency's obligatory approval.

Croatian Minister of Defense Colonel General Martin Spegelj said this at a news conference in Zagreb today, as he explained that the Ministry of Defense has assumed a new and considerably greater role than that of the former secretariat. The law has done away with ideological elements, particularly with the former role of sociopolitical organizations, and All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee have also been abolished. The financing of national defense is solved in a more effective way; as of the beginning of next year it will be carried out through the republican budget.

Martin Spegelj said that most misunderstandings and criticisms regarding the adoption of the new law stem from the fact that the issue of differentiating between managing and commanding territorial defense was not clear enough. Territorial defense is run by the presidencies of the republics and provinces, while the SFRY Presidency is the supreme commander. Hence, Martin Spegelj maintains, one ought to make it fully clear that managing territorial defense is one issue, whereas commanding it is another one. By making changes to the law we have made it clear, Martin Spegelj said.

In his interview Spegelj concludes that the democratization of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is necessary and that the armed forces cannot be against any government elected in democratic elections. The Croatian Government set out in its proposed confederal agreement that a certain contingent of federal armed forces should also exist, but each sovereign unit should have its own armed forces. This, in Spegelj's view, should not bother anybody, because it is in accordance with the process of democratization in society and the establishment of sovereign republics.

Asked about the formation of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]-Movement for Yugoslavia, Martin Spegelj said that nowadays everybody has a right to form his own party to participate in elections. It is of no consequence if high military functionaries become members of some parties if that is not in connection with their army profession. The person who gave the introductory speech at the founding meeting of the LCY-Movement for Yugoslavia in the Sava Center said that the League of Communists in the JNA is joining this party. If this is true, then it is a denial of democratization in the JNA. But I believe that this is not the case, Martin Spegelj stressed.

Spegelj then refuted allegations that people are being dismissed from his ministry only because of their nationality. Some departments have been suspended, therefore work places in them have also been suspended. Those employed by them are awaiting reallocation—they were not dismissed. There are 19 persons awaiting reallocation, including 10 Serbs, two Yugoslavs, two Montenegrins, one Croat, and four "unidentified" [neidentificirani] persons, who did not want to state their nationality. Spegelj said that currently in the Croatian Ministry of Defense, 49 percent of employees are Croats, 30 percent Serbs, and 21 percent others.

Spegelj also refuted allegations with regard to the formation of voluntary youth units of civil defense, which have been labeled as militant units. They were formed at the time of the biggest fires on Adriatic coast to carry out more effective fire-fighting action. Spegelj said that these units have been disbanded.

Asked about the Knin events, Spegelj reiterated that now it is only road banditry, and that patience toward them has been exhausted.

Democratic Party Alleges Montenegrin Wiretapping

AU2911135990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 90 p 2

["D.V."-signed report: "Who Is That Eavesdropping?"]

[Text] The latest edition of DEMOKRATSKA REC, the newspaper of the Democratic Party, carries a report on its front page which "uncovers" the police's system of eavesdropping on telephone conversations. The article entitled "Espionage Coalition" says that "every post office in Montenegro has both a telephone exchange and a special room to which only the Internal Affairs Secretariat has keys. The lines of all subscribers go through this room and they have adaptors built into them so that tapping equipment can be switched onto them."

At a session of the workers council of the Post Office and Telecommunications public enterprise of Montenegro, which was held 17, 18, and 19 October 1990, a decision was made at the request of the delegates whereby all internal affairs organs were to return the keys to these rooms within three days. Instead of returning the keys, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs suggested eavesdropping together.

Jovic UN Message Emphasizes Palestinian Cause

LD2911202290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] United Nations, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—The Nonaligned Movement attaches great importance to the revitalization of the Middle East peace process, on the basis of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self-determination, Yugoslav Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic stressed in a message to the United Nations.

Jovic sent the message on behalf of Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement, chaired by Yugoslavia, to the UN seat in New York, which today marks the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Jovic recalled the efforts of Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement to seek a solution to the Middle East crisis only on the basis of complete respect of all Palestinian rights, including the right to set up their own state and Israel's withdrawal from all territories occupied in 1967.

The Yugoslav president stressed that the settlement of the entire Middle East problem required the involvement of the international community, especially the UN Security Council, in preparing an international conference on the regional problems.

Markovic Congratulates New British Prime Minister

LD2911161890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 29 Nov 90

[Text] London, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Expressing his conviction that friendly relations between Great Britain and Yugoslavia will develop further, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic today congratulated John Major on his election to the post of British prime minister.

The message, which was handed to the British prime minister today, underlines the hope that the relations between two countries will develop at the mutual advantage and in the interest of consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation in the world. The message, among other things, recalls that the British prime minister has an open invitiation to visit Yugoslavia and voices hope that the visit will materialize in the near future.

Reportage on Pajkovic Visit to Gulf Region

WA2811205090

For reportage on the visit by Minister of State for Economic Affairs Branimir Pajkovic to Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and other regional countries, please see the relevant sections of the 28 August Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.